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THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

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# ANTIENTS,

Under the following HEADS:

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POETRY and POETS, HISTORY and HISTORIANS, ELOQUENCE and ORATORS, PHILOSOPHY and PHILOSOPHERS, CIVIL LAW, METAPHYSICS and PHYSICS, PHYSIC and PHYSICIANS, BOTANY, CHYMISTRY, ANATOMY, MATHEMATICS and MATHEMATICIANS, GEOMETRY, ASTRONOMY and ASTRONOMERS, ARITHMETIC, &c. GEOGRAPHY and GEOGRAPHERS, and NAVIGATION.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

*Late Principal of the Univerſity of Paris, Profeſſor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres.*

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00081731

# CONTENTS.


CHAPTER I.

OF POETRY. Page 1
SECT. III. *Third age of the Latin poetry*, ibid.

CHAPTER II.

*Of Hiſtorians*, 29

ARTICLE I.

*Of the Greek hiſtorians*, 30

ARTICLE. II.

*Of the Latin hiſtorians*, 80

CHAPTER III.

*Of Orators*, 117

ARTICLE I.

*Of the Greek orators*, 123
SECT. I. *Age in which eloquence flouriſhed moſt at Athens*, ibid.
II. *Change of eloquence amongſt the Greeks*, 136

ARTICLE II.

*Of the Latin orators,* Page 141
SECT. I. *First age of the Roman orators,* ibid.
II. *Second age of the Roman orators,* 145
III. *Third age of the Roman orators,* 151
IV. *Fourth age of the Roman orators,* 158

---

*Of the Superior Sciences,* Page 213
*Of Philosophy,* 215

PART I.

*History of the Philosophers,* 218

CHAPTER I.

*History of the philosophers of the Ionic sect, to their division into various branches,* ibid.

CHAPTER II.

*Division of the Ionic philosophy into different sects,* 229

ARTICLE I.

*Of the Cyrenaic sect,* ibid.

ARTICLE II.

*Of the Megarean sect,* 232

ARTICLE III.

*Of the Elian and Eretrian sects,* 233

ARTICLE IV.

*Of the three sects of Academics,* ibid.

SECT.

## CONTENTS.


SECT. I. *Of the antient Academy,* 234
II. *Of the middle Academy,* 246
III. *Of the new Academy,* 248

ARTICLE V.

*Of the Peripatetics,* 252

ARTICLE VI.

*Of the ſect of the Cynics,* 259

ARTICLE VII.

*Of the Stoics,* 264

CHAPTER III.

*Hiſtory of the philoſophers of the Italic ſect,* 277

ARTICLE I.

*Pythagoras,* ibid.

ARTICLE II.

*Diviſion of the Italic ſect into four ſects,* 293
SECT. I. *Sect of Heraclitus,* ibid.
II. *Sect of Democritus,* 295
III. *Sceptic or Pyrrhonic ſect,* 298
IV. *Epicurean ſect,* 300
*General reflections upon the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers,* 303

PART II.

*Hiſtory of Philoſophy,* 305

CHAPTER I.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon Logic,* 311


CHAP-

CONTENTS.


CHAPTER II.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning the Ethics, or Morality,* Page 316

ARTICLE I.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the ſupreme good, or happineſs of man,* 321

SECT. I. *Opinions of Epicurus concerning the ſupreme good,* 324

II. *Opinions of the Stoics concerning the ſupreme good,* 331

III. *Opinions of the Peripatetics concerning the ſupreme good,* 339

ARTICLE II.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the virtues and duties of life,* 341

ARTICLE III.

*Of Juriſprudence, or the knowledge of the Civil Law,* 353

CHAPTER III.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning Metaphyſics and Phyſics* 367

ARTICLE I.

*Of the exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity,* ibid.

SECT. I. *Of the exiſtence of the Divinity,* 368

II. *Of the nature of the Divinity,* 374

III. *Whether the Divinity preſides over the government of the world? Whether mankind be his peculiar care?* 383

ARTICLE II.

*Of the formation of the world,* 387

SECT. I. *Syſtem of the Stoics concerning the formation of the world,* ibid.


SECT.

SECT. II. *System of the Epicureans concerning the formation of the world,* Page 390
III. *Plato's fine thought of the formation of the world,* 394

ARTICLE III.

*Of the nature of the soul,* 396

ARTICLE IV.

*Of the effect of nature,* 401

CHAPTER IV.

SECT. I. *Of Physic,* 411
II. *Of Botany,* 428
III. *Of Chymistry,* 434
IV. *Of Anatomy,* 435

---

*Of the Mathematics,* 437

CHAPTER I.

*Of Geometry,* 438
*Of Arithmetic and Algebra,* 448
*Of the Mechanics,* 450
*Of the Statics,* 452

CHAPTER II.

*Of Astronomy,* 454

ARTICLE I.

*Of Geography,* 466
SECT. I. *Of the most distinguished Geographers of antiquity.* ibid.
II. *Lands known to the Antients.* 470

SECT.

## SENECA.

Of the ten Latin tragedies that have been collected and publiſhed together under the name of Seneca, it is generally enough agreed, that the fineſt were written by the celebrated philoſopher, who was Nero's preceptor. The Medea is believed to be undoubtedly his, becauſe Quintilian quotes a paſſage from it, to which he adds his name. There are ſome particular reaſons alſo for aſcribing the Œdipus to him. Mr. Le Fevre finds too much of the declamation and the ſchools in the Agamemnon, Troas, and Hercules. Others however believe, that the Troas and Hippolytus are really his: but that the Agamemnon, Hercules *furens*, Thyeſtes, and Hercules Œtæus, are either Seneca the father's, or ſome other unknown author's. As to the Thebais and Octavia, they are thought entirely unworthy of Seneca's genius and eloquence. And it is certain that the latter was not writ till after the death of Seneca, and even of Nero.

Lib. 9. c. 2.

## PERSIUS.

PERSIUS, (*Aulus Perſius Flaccus*) a ſatyric poet in the reign of Nero, was born at Volaterræ, a city of Tuſcany. He was of the Equeſtrian order, and related and allied to perſons of the firſt rank. He ſtudied till twelve years old at Volaterræ, and afterwards at Rome under the grammarian Palæmon, the rhetorician Virginius, and a Stoic philoſopher named Cornutus, who conceived a particular friendſhip for him, and with whom he always lived in the greateſt intimacy.

This poet was of a very gentle and humane diſpoſition, very friendly and obliging to his relations and acquaintance, and extremely regular in his manners and conduct. In his ſatires he often cen-

ſures the faults of the orators and poets of his time, without ſparing Nero himſelf:

*Auriculas aſini* quis non habet?*

We read there alſo theſe four verſes, which are believed Nero's, and which he cites as an example of the tumid or bombaſtic ſtile:

*Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,*
*Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura ſuperbo*
*Baſſaris, & lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis*
*Evion ingeminat: reparabilis adſonat Echo.*

Boileau juſtifies himſelf by this example: "Let "us examine Perſius, ſays he, who wrote in the "reign of Nero. He does not confine himſelf to "ridiculing the works of the poets of his time; he "attacks the works of Nero himſelf. For every "body knows, and Nero's court knew, that the "four verſes *Torva Mimalloneis*, &c. which Perſius "rallies ſo ſeverely in his firſt ſatire, were Nero's. "However, we do not find that Nero, all Nero "as he was, inflicted any puniſhment upon Per-"ſius: that tyrant, the enemy of reaſon, and ina-"moured, as all know, of his own works, was "however ſo much a gallant man, as to under-"ſtand raillery in reſpect to his verſes, and did "not believe the emperor, on this occaſion, ought "to take upon himſelf what concerned the poet."

The work of Perſius, in which refined morality and a wonderful fund of ſenſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves every-where, though of no great extent, has acquired him great glory, and a glory of the moſt ſolid kind, ſays Quintilian: *Multum, & veræ gloriæ, quamvis uno libro, meruit Perſius.* It muſt however be owned, that the obſcurity which prevails in his ſatires, exceedingly diminiſhes their merit. This made a certain perſon ſay, that ſince Perſius would

* *It is ſaid he wrote, at firſt,* Auriculas aſini Midæ rex habet.

not be underſtood, he would not underſtand him. *Si non vis intelligi, nec ego volo te intelligere.*

He died at only twenty-eight years of age, in the 62d year of our Lord, which was the 8th year of Nero's reign. In gratitude to his maſter and friend Cornutus, he left him his library, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred volumes, a very conſiderable one in thoſe days, with a great ſum of money. Cornutus accepted the books, but gave the money to the heirs of Perſius, who were his ſiſters.

## JUVENAL.

I antedate the time of Juvenal here, in order to join thoſe two Satiric poets together.

Juvenal (*Decimus*, or *Decius Junius Juvenalis*) was of Aquinum in the kingdom of Naples. He lived at Rome about the end of Domitian's reign, and even in Nerva's and Trajan's. He acquired great reputation by his ſatires, of which ſixteen are come down to us. He paſſed the greateſt part of his life in the exerciſes of the ſchools, where he was famous for being a vehement declaimer:

Juvenal, élevé dans le cris de l'Ecole,
Pouſſa juſqu'à l' excès ſa mordante hyperbole.
*Boileau.*

*He, bred in bawling ſchools debate to wage,*
*Puſh'd to exceſs his hyperbolic rage.*

Julius Scaaliger, who is always ſingular in his ſentiments, prefers the force of Juvenal to Horace's ſimplicity. But all people of good taſte agree, that the declamatory and bitter genius of Juvenal is much inferior to the natural, delicate, and refined ſimplicity of Horace's ſatire.

Vet. Juven. vit. In his ſeventh ſatire he had ventured to attack the comedian Paris, whoſe power was enormous at ourt, and who beſtowed all offices both civil and military:

*Ille*

*Ille & militiæ multis largitur honorem,*
*Semestri vatum digitos circumligat auro,*
*Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio.*

The proud comedian did not suffer so offensive an attempt without resenting it. He caused Juvenal to be banished into Egypt, by sending him thither to command a body of troops incamped at the extremity of that country. After Domitian's death he returned to Rome, where he remained, as is judged from some of his satires, till the reign of Adrian.

It is believed that Quintilian, who made it his rule not to name any living author, means Juvenal, when he says, that there are satiric poets of his time well worthy of esteem, and who will one day be very famous: *Sunt clari hodieque & qui olim nominabuntur.* Lib. 10. c. 1.

It were to be wished, that, in reproving the manners of others with too much severity, he had not shewn, that he himself was void of modesty; and that he had not combated vices, in a manner that rather teaches the practice, than inspires the horror, of them.

## LUCAN.

LUCAN (*M. Annæus Lucanus*) was Seneca's nephew. The most celebrated of his works is his *Pharsalia*, in which he relates the war of Cæsar and Pompey. He abounds with fine thoughts, and there is great spirit and vivacity in his stile: but Quintilian thinks him rather to be reckoned amongst the orators than the poets: *Lucanus ardens, & concitatus, & sententiis clarissimus; &, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* Quint. l. 10. c. 1. To equal Lucan with Virgil, as some are willing to do, is not exalting Lucan, but shewing little discernment. We may however say of him, that, if years had ripened Lucan's genius, who perhaps was not twenty-six when he died, and added Virgil's judgment to his fire and sublimity,

he might have been a conſummate poet. Many of his poems are loſt.

The life of Lucan, aſcribed to Suetonius, accuſes him of a light intemperate tongue, and particularly of having ſpoken of Nero, who loved him, in a manner capable of exaſperating even a mild and rational prince.

He was one of the * firſt that entered into Piſo's conſpiracy, out of reſentment to Nero, who, through mean jealouſy, ſuppreſſed the reputation of his poems, and prevented him from publiſhing them. That prince ordered Lucan to be put to death, and his veins were opened. When he perceived the warmth abandon the extremities of his body, remembering that he had formerly deſcribed a ſoldier expiring in that manner, he repeated the verſes that expreſſed his death, which were his laſt words: a frivolous conſolation for a dying man, but worthy an Heathen poet. He died in the 65th year of the Chriſtian Æra, and in the twelfth of Nero.

## PETRONIUS.

PETRONIUS *(Petronius Arbiter)* was of Provence, in the country near Marſeilles, as Sidonius Apollinarius informs us; and lived, according to the more received opinion, in the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

We have of this author's works the remains of a ſatire, or rather of ſeveral ſatirical books (Satyricõn) which he compoſed both in verſe and proſe. This is a kind of romance in the ſame form as the ſatires, which Varro, as I have ſaid before, had invented by mingling verſe and proſe, the ſerious with the gay, agreeably; and which he called *Menippeæ*, from Menippus the Cynic, who before him had treated grave ſubjects in a ſtile of pleaſantry and ridicule.

Theſe fragments are only an indigeſted collection

* Lucanum propriæ cauſæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero, prohibueratque oſtentare, vanus adſimulatione. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 15. c. 49.

of

of detached parts, taken from the papers of ſomebody who had extracted what he liked beſt from Petronius without any order. The learned find in them extreme refinement and delicacy of taſte, and a wonderful happineſs in painting the different characters of thoſe he introduces ſpeaking. They obſerve, however, though Petronius ſeems to have been a great critic, and a writer of a moſt exquiſite taſte, that his ſtile does not entirely come up to the delicacy of his judgment; that it is not without ſome affectation; is too florid and elaborate; and that it degenerates even ſo early as his time from the natural and majeſtic ſimplicity of the golden age of Auguſtus. But, were his ſtile much more perfect, he would be ſtill the more dangerous to his readers, from the obſcenities with which he has filled his work.

It is doubted, whether this Petronius be the ſame mentioned by Tacitus. That hiſtorian gives us the following picture of Petronius Turpilianus, which ſufficiently agrees with the idea the reading of the work in queſtion gives us of its author: "He was "a * voluptuous man, who paſſed the day in ſleep, "and the night in pleaſures or buſineſs. As others "acquire reputation by induſtry, he had made "himſelf famous for his idleneſs. He did not paſs "however for a prodigal and a debauchee, like "thoſe who ruin themſelves by exceſſes, void of "ſenſe and taſte, but for a man of a refined and "learned luxury. All his words and actions were "the more pleaſing, as they carried with them,

* Illi dies per ſomnum, nox officiis & oblectamentis vitæ tranſigebantur. Utque alios induſtria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat, habebaturque non ganeo & proſligator, ut plerique ſua haurientium, ſed erudito luxu. Ac dicta factaque ejus, quanto ſolutiora, & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tanto gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur. Proconſul tamen Bithyniæ, & mox Conſul, vigentem ſe ac parem negotiis oſtendit: deinde revolutus ad vitia, ſeu vitiorum imitationem, inter paucos familiarium Neroni adſumptus eſt, elegantiæ arbiter, dum nihil amœnum & molle, niſi quod ei Petronius approbaviſſet. Unde invidia Tigellini, quaſi adverſus æmulum, & ſcientia voluptatum potiorem. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 16. c. 18.

"even when looſeſt, a certain of air of negligence "peculiar to him, which, as it ſeemed nature it- "ſelf, had all the charms of ſimplicity. Notwith- "ſtanding, when he was proconſul of Bithynia, "and afterwards when conſul, he diſcovered a "capacity for the greateſt employments. Return- "ing after to a voluptuous life, either out of in- "clination or policy, becauſe the prince loved de- "bauch, he became one of his principal confi- "dents. It was he that regulated every thing in "Nero's parties of pleaſure, who thought nothing "agreeable nor in taſte, which Petronius had not "approved. This excited the envy of Tigellinus "againſt him, as a dangerous rival, that excelled "himſelf in the knowledge of pleaſures, and the "ſcience of voluptuouſneſs." Petronius killed himſelf, to avoid the death to which the emperor had condemned him upon a falſe accuſation.

If this Petronius be not the writer intended here, ſo admirable a picture will at leaſt ſerve to give us an idea of the ſtile of Tacitus, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

## SILIUS ITALICUS.

C. SILIUS ITALICUS rendered himſelf famous by his poem on the ſecond Punic war.

He was not born * a poet, and ſtudy did not entirely ſupply what he wanted on the ſide of nature. Beſides which he did not apply himſelf to poetry, till after he had long exerciſed the function of an advocate at the bar, and had been conſul, that is to ſay, in a very advanced and languid period of life.

Martial. Ep. 63. l. 7.

Whatever † praiſes Martial beſtows on him, he is not much eſteemed as a poet: he is however deemed to excel all the writers of his time in purity of language. He follows the truth of hiſtory exactly

* Scribet at carmina majore cura quam ingenio. *Plin.* Ep. 7. l. 3.

† *Perpetui nunquam moritura volumina Sili*
*Qui legis, & Latia carmina digna toga.* *Ep.* 63. *l.* 7.

enough,

enough, and lights may be found in his poem, though not his principal deſign, into things which paſſed in the times of which he writes; there being facts in him not to be found elſewhere.

What he ſays of Domitian ſufficiently ſhews, that he wrote in the reign of that prince, after the war with the Sarmatæ, in which that with the Daci may be included.

He is believed to have died in the time of Tra- Plin. Ep. jan, in the year 100. He ſtarved himſelf to death, 7. l. 3. not being able to bear the pain of an ulcer, which the phyſicians could not cure. Pliny obſerves, that Silius, having retired into Campania upon account of his old age, did not quit his retreat to come to Rome, in order to congratulate Trajan upon his acceſſion to the empire. * That prince was highly praiſed for not being offended at ſuch a liberty; and he for venturing to take it.

If our poet could not attain to a perfect imitation of Virgil, at leaſt it was impoſſible to carry reſpect for him higher than he did. When he had got poſſeſſion of the place where Virgil's tomb ſtood †, it became ſacred, and a kind of temple to him. He celebrated that poet's birth-day every year with greater joy and ſolemnity than his own. He could not ſuffer ſo venerable a monument to remain neglected in the hands of a poor peaſant, and purchaſed it:

*Jam propè deſertos cineres, & ſancta Maronis*
*Nomina qui coleret, pauper & unus erat.*
*Silius optatæ ſuccurrere cenſuit umbræ:*
*Silius & vatem, non minor ipſe, colit.*
Martial. Epig. 50. l. 11.

Silius's work had lain buried for many ages in the duſt of the library of St. Gal. Poggius found

* Magna Cæſaris laus, ſub quo hoc liberum fuit: magna illius, qui hac libertate auſus uti. *Plin.* Ep. 7. l. 3.

† Cujus (Virgilii) natalem religioſius quam ſuum celebrabat; Neapoli maximè, ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum ſolebat. *Plin.* ibid.

it

it there during the council of Conſtance, with many other manuſcripts, as I have already obſerved elſewhere.

## STATIUS.

STATIUS (*P. Statius Papinius*) lived in the reign of Domitian. Martial never mentions him, though they were cotemporaries at Rome; which is believed to proceed from jealouſy, becauſe the extreme facility of Statius in making extemporary verſes made him highly agreeable to Domitian.

We have two heroic poems of Statius: the *Thebaid* in twelve books, and the *Achilleid* in only two, becauſe he was prevented by death from making an end of it.

His poems were highly eſteemed at Rome in his time. Juvenal mentions the extraordinary crowding to hear them, and the applauſes they received:

*Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ*
*Thebaïdos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,*
*Promiſitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos*
*Adficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi*
*Auditur.* Satyr. 6. l. 3.

If we are to take the verſes that follow theſe literally, and if they are not one of the hyperbole's ſo common to Juvenal, they tell us that Statius was poor, and after having acquired great reputation by his Thebaid, was obliged to compoſe dramatic poems, and to ſell them to the actors for the means of life:

——— *Sed cum fregit ſubſellia verſu,*
*Eſurit, intactam Paridi niſi vendat Agaven.*

Julius Scaliger affirms that no author, either antient or modern, comes ſo near Virgil as Statius, and makes no difficulty to give him the preference to all the heroic poets, Greek or Latin, maintaining at the ſame time that his verſes are better even than Homer's.

Homer's. Such a judgment ſhews that illuſtrious critic not to have had ſo much juſtneſs of taſte as erudition. The one often hurts the other.

Statius, as well as Lucan and Silius, has treated his ſubject rather like an hiſtorian than a poet, without confining himſelf to what conſtitutes the eſſence of a true Epic poem. As to his diction and verſification, in too much endeavouring to riſe and appear great, he gives into bombaſt, and becomes tumid.

## VALERIUS FLACCUS.

As the reign of Auguſtus produced the moſt excellent of the Latin poets, that of Domitian has alſo given us the moſt conſiderable poets of the ſecond claſs.

*C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus.* This poet was born at Setia, a town of Campania; but had fixed his abode at Padua.

His heroic poem upon the voyage of the Argonauts in eight books is come down to us. It was begun in the reign of Veſpaſian, to whom it is inſcribed; but the author was prevented from finiſhing it by a ſudden death. The beſt judges have but an indifferent opinion of this work, becauſe there are ſeveral things in it contrary to the rules of art, no grace and beauty, with a ſtile which, from affecting a greatneſs it wants nerves to ſuſtain, becomes cold and languid. Quintilian ſays, however, that the Latin poetry had loſt much by his death, which happened in the latter part of Domitian's reign: *Multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amiſimus.* Lib. 10, c. 1.

Martial writes to him as to his friend, and adviſes him to renounce poetry for the bar, and apply himſelf to ſomething by which more is to be got than by courting the muſes, from whom he has nothing to expect but unavailing wreaths and barren praiſe, attended with want and miſery:

*Picrios*

*Pierios differ cantuſque choroſque Sororum:*
*Æs dabit ex illis nulla Puella tibi—*
*Præter aquas Helicon, & ſerta, lyraſque dearum,*
*Nil habet, & magnum ſed perinane ſophos.*
Ep. 76. l. 1.

## MARTIAL.

MARTIAL *(M. Valerius Martialis)* ſucceeded in the epigram. He was a Spaniard of the city of Bilbilis, which is ſaid to have been not far from that of Caltaïnda in Arragon. He was born in the time of Claudius, and at the age of twenty came to Rome in Nero's reign, where he ſtaid thirty years, beloved by the emperors, and in particular by Domitian, who conferred many favours upon him. It is believed, that his not being ſo well treated, after the emperor's death, induced him to retire into his own country. He had full time there to grow weary of it, for want of good company, and ſuch as had a taſte for polite learning; which made him often think of his reſidence at Rome with regret. For inſtead of his verſes being exceedingly admired and applauded, as they were in that learned city, at Bilbilis they only excited envy and ſlander againſt him; a treatment very hard to bear every day with patience: *Accedit his municipalium rubigo dentium, & judicii loco livor——adverſus quod difficile eſt habere quotidie bonum ſtomachum.* He died in the reign of Trajan, about the year of Chriſt 100.

Martial. in Præf. l. 12.

Fourteen books of Epigrams and one upon Shews remain of his writings. Voſſius believes the latter a collection of Martial's verſes, and thoſe of ſome other poets of his time upon the ſhews exhibited by Titus in the year of Chriſt 80.

Pliny, in honour of whom he had compoſed an epigram, (the 19th of the 10th book) gave him a ſum of money, when he retired from Rome: for he had

Plin. Ep. l. 3.

had made but ſmall acquiſitions in reſpect to the goods of fortune. Pliny on this occaſion obſerves, that it was antiently the cuſtom to confer rewards either of profit or honour upon thoſe who had celebrated the glory of cities, or certain illuſtrious perſons. At preſent, ſays he, that faſhion is expired, with others no leſs great and noble. When we left off doing actions worthy of praiſe, we began to deſpiſe it: (if not with juſtice, at leaſt with reaſon; for it reproached our want of merit.) *Poſtquam deſiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.*

He lamented the death of Martial, when he was informed of it, and loved and eſteemed his genius: but it were to be wiſhed that his verſes had always been as chaſte and modeſt, as they are ſometimes witty.

He is reproached for too much bitterneſs and ill-nature, his ſhameful flattery of Domitian, and his unworthy treatment of him after his death.

The love of ſubtleties or witticiſm, and the affectation of points in diſcourſe, had, from the time of Tiberius and Caligula, taken place of the fine taſte that prevailed in the reign of Auguſtus. Thoſe defects increaſed perpetually, which occaſioned Martial's pleaſing ſo much. All his epigrams are far from having the ſame force and ſpirit; to which this verſe of his own has been juſtly applied:

Sunt bona, ſunt quædam mediocria, ſunt mala plura.

*Some good, ſome tolerable, but more bad.*

And indeed moſt of them are bad; he has however ſome that are excellent: of which I ſhall give the reader the following examples.

*Upon an excellent piece of ſculpture.*

Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum
Piſces adſpicis: adde aquam, natabunt. *Ep.* 35. *l.* 3.

*Upon*

*Upon the ſlowneſs of a barber.*

Eutrapelus tonſor dum circuit ora Luperci,
Expingitque genas, altera barba ſubit.
*Ep.* 83. *l.* 7.

*Advice to a perſon not to go to law.*

Et judex petit, & petit patronus:
Solvas cenſeo, Sexte, creditori. *Ep.* 13. *l.* 2.

*A judge, you ſay,—and patron you muſt get?*
*Take my advice, good Sextus; pay the debt.*

*Upon the ſudden death of one who had often been victorious in the races of the Circus.*

Ille ego ſum Scorpus, clamoſi gloria Circi;
Plauſus, Roma, tui, deliciæque breves:
Invida quem Lacheſis raptum trieteride nona,
Dum numerat palmas, credidit eſſe ſenem.
*Ep.* 51. *l.* 10.

*Upon the bold action of Mucius Scævola.*

Dum peteret Regem decepta ſatellite dextra,
Injecit ſacris ſe peritura focis.
Sed tam ſæva pius miracula non tulit hoſtis,
Et raptum flammis juſſit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
Hanc ſpectare manum Porſena non potuit.
Major deceptæ fama eſt & gloria dextræ:
Si non erraſſet, fecerat illa minus.
*Ep.* 22. *l.* 1.

*Againſt the inhumanity of a covetous rich man.*

Tu ſpectas hiemem ſuccincti lentus amici,
(Prô ſcelus!) & lateris frigora trita mei.
Quantum erat, infelix, pannis fraudare duobus,
(Quid renuis?) non te, Nævole, ſed tineas?
*Ep.* 46. *l.* 2.

No

*No riches are in reality ſaved but thoſe we give away.*

Callidus effracta nummos fur auferet arca:
Proſternet patrios impia flamma lares ——
Extra fortunam eſt quicquid donatur amicis:
Quas dederis, ſolas ſemper habebis opes.
*Ep.* 42. *l.* 8.

*Praiſe and deſcription of a little bitch.* It is ſomewhat long, but of exceeding delicacy; and I could wiſh, for the ſake of the ladies, that ſome able hand would tranſlate it into our language in verſe:

Iſſa eſt paſſere nequior Catulli:
Iſſa eſt purior oſculo columbæ:
Iſſa eſt blandior omnibus puellis:
Iſſa eſt carior Indicis lapillis:
Iſſa eſt deliciæ catella Publî.
Hanc tu, ſi queritur, loqui putabis.
Sentit triſtitiamque gaudiumque.
Collo nixa cubat, capitque ſomnos,
Ut ſuſpiria nulla ſentiantur:
Et deſiderio coacta ventris,
Gutta pallia non fefellit ulla;
Sed blando pede ſuſcitat, toroque
Deponi monet, & rogat levari.
Caſtæ tantus ineſt pudor catellæ!
Ignorat Venerem, nec invenimus
Dignum tam tenera virum puella.
Hanc ne lux rapiat ſuprema totam,
Picta Publius exprimit tabella.
In qua tam ſimilem videbis Iſſam,
Ut ſit tam ſimilis ſibi nec Iſſa.
Iſſam denique pone cum tabella,
Aut utramque putabis eſſe veram,
Aut utramque putabis eſſe pictam.
*Ep.* 109. *l.* 4.

For the ſake of the ladies, *as Mr. Rollin recommends it, the Tranſlator has attempted, or rather imitated*

*tated this little poem in Engliſh meaſure, how unequally the compariſon will beſt explain:*

*Pretty Iſſa, which can be*
*Of pretty things compar'd to thee!*
*Leſbia's ſparrow in its play*
*Was not half ſo arch and gay:*
*Iſſa's kiſſes ſweeter far*
*Than the billing turtle's are:*
*Iſſa, fonder than the dove:*
*Iſſa, kind as maids in love:*
*India's gems with her compare,*
*Gems and gold are not ſo rare:*
*Cheap are thoſe in Publius' ſight;*
*Iſſa is his ſole delight.*
*Iſſa has the art to trace*
*Joy and ſadneſs in a face;*
*And ſuch notice ſeems to take,*
*Iſſa, one would think, could ſpeak.*
*Whilſt ſhe ſleeps, her neck ſuſtaining,*
*Not a breath her life explaining,*
*Should a call of nature take her,*
*No diſtreſſes rude can make her;*
*But, ſoft-riſing from her place,*
*Not a drop to her diſgrace,*
Set me down, *ſhe tells you plain,*
*And now,* take me up again.
*And ſo chaſte's the little creature,*
*One would think her not of nature:*
*Never Venus and her ſon*
*To her ſpotleſs breaſt were known;*
*Nor a ſpouſe could we provide*
*Worthy of the tender bride.*
*Leſt death ſnatch her whole away,*
*Grief to think! at her laſt day,*
*Publius does her picture take,*
*Long to keep for Iſſa's ſake:*
*Iſſa there as like you ſee,*
*As Iſſa can to Iſſa be:*

*Iſſa by her picture place,*
*Iſſa's two with ev'ry grace!*
*Both painted ſeem, and both ſeem true;*
*They puzzle me, and ſo would you!*

## SULPITIA.

SULPITIA, a Roman lady, was the wife of Calenus. She wrote a poem upon the expulſion of the philoſophers, wherein ſhe highly laſhes Domitian, and menaces him with death. It is the only one, of a great number of poems compoſed by her, that is come down to us, and is uſually printed at the end of Juvenal's ſatires. We have reaſon to regret the loſs of the verſes ſhe inſcribed to her huſband upon conjugal love, and the chaſtity and fidelity to be obſerved in the married ſtate. Martial gives her great praiſe in one of his epigrams, of which I ſhall repeat only ſome verſes:

Omnes Sulpitiam legant puellæ,
Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere.
Omnes Sulpitiam legant mariti,
Uni qui cupiunt placere nuptæ——
Hac condiſcipula, vel hac magiſtra,
Eſſes doctior & pudica Sappho.——
*Epiſt.* 35. *l.* 10.

Imitated.

*You tender brides, whom virtuous love inſpires,*
*Refine by wiſe Sulpitia your deſires:*
*She can the uſeful ſcience well impart*
*To keep one happy married lover's heart:*
*And you, whoe'er deſire one bride to charm,*
*Yourſelves with bright Sulpitia's dictates arm——*
*With her converſant, by her leſſons taught,*
*Her lovely pupils riſe, enlarg'd in thought;*
*Chaſte and more learned Sappho's they become,*
*Their ſex's glory, and the pride of Rome.*

## NEMESIANUS and CALPURNIUS.

We have ſome eclogues and part of a poem upon hunting written by *M. Aurelius Olympius Nemeſianus*, who was very famous in his time for his poetical works. We are told that he was a native of Carthage. He inſcribes his poem upon hunting to Carinus and Numerianus, after their father's death, that is to ſay, in the year 284.

TITUS CAPURNIUS, of Sicily, lived in the reigns of Carus, Carinus, and Numerianus. He compoſed ſeven eclogues, which he inſcribed to Nemeſianus, a paſtoral poet as well as himſelf. The verſes of both theſe poets have the character of the age in which they were written.

## PRUDENTIUS.

PRUDENTIUS, *(Aurelius Prudentius Clemens)* a Chriſtian poet, and officer in the court of the emperor Honorius, was born at Saragoſa in Spain in the year 348, and died about 412.

He did not begin his poems upon religion till the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. He had been firſt an advocate, then a judge, afterwards a ſoldier, and at laſt a retainer to the court in an honourable employment. He informs us himſelf of theſe circumſtances in the prologue of his works:

*Per quinquennia jam decem,*
*Ni fallor, fuimus: ſeptimus inſuper*
*Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur ſole volubili.*

After having ſpoken of his youth he mentions his different employments:

*Exin jurgia turbidos*
*Armarunt animos, & male pertinax*
*Vincendi ſtudium ſubjacuit caſibus aſperis.*
*Bis legum moderamine*
*Frænos nobilium reximus urbium:*
*Jus civile bonis reddidimus, terruimus reos.*

*Tandem*

*Tandem militiæ gradu*
*Evectum pietas principis extulit,*
*Adſumptum propius ſtare jubens ordine proximo.*

The poems of Prudentius, come down to us, abound more with zeal for religion than ornaments of art. They are full of falſe quantities; beſides which he is not always orthodox in his notions. We muſt however confeſs, that there is abundance of taſte and delicacy in many paſſages of his works: his hymns upon the Innocents are ſufficient proofs of this, from which I ſhall repeat ſome ſtrophe's:

Salvete *flores martyrum,*
*Quos, lucis ipſo in limine,*
*Chriſti inſecutor ſuſtulit,*
*Ceu turbo naſcentes roſas.*
Vos *prima Chriſti victima,*
*Grex immolatorum tener,*
*Aram ſub ipſam ſimplices*
*Palma & coronis luditis* ——
Audit *tyrannus anxius*
*Adeſſe regum principem,*
*Qui nomen Iſrael regat,*
*Teneatque David regiam.*
Exclamat *amens nuntio:*
*Succeſſor inſtat, pellimur.*
*Satelles i, ferrum rape,*
*Perfunde cunas ſanguine.*
Transfigit *ergo carnifex*
*Mucrone diſtricto furens*
*Effuſa nuper corpora,*
*Animaſque rimatur novas.*

The Auguſtan age has nothing more animated, nor more delicate, than theſe ſtrophe's.

## CLAUDIAN.

CLAUDIAN, (*Claudius*) a Latin poet and a Pagan, was a native of Egypt. He lived in the reign of Ar-

cadius and Honorius, who cauſed a ſtatue to be erected in honour of him. He died ſoon after Arcadius.

He merits the firſt rank amongſt the heroic poets who appeared after the Auguſtan age. Of all thoſe who have endeavoured to follow and imitate Virgil, none come ſo near the majeſty of that poet, and retain leſs of the corruption of the age he lived in, than him. He every-where ſhews abundance of genius, and that he was born a poet. He was full of that fire which produces enthuſiaſm. His ſtile is correct, ſweet, elegant, and at the ſame time noble and ſublime. He has however too many flights and ſallies of youth, and ſwells too much. He has wit and imagination, but is far from that delicacy of numbers, that natural and exquiſite harmony of verſe, which the learned admire in Virgil. He rings perpetually the ſame round of meaſures, the ſame cadence, on account of which one can ſcarce read him without being tired.

Of the ſeveral poems of Claudian, his invectives againſt Rufinus and Eutropius have been highly eſteemed.

## AUSONIUS.

Ausonius (*Decius* or rather *Decimus Magnus Auſonius*) was born at Bourdeaux.

At the age of thirty he was choſen profeſſor of grammar, and afterwards of rhetoric. He acquired ſo great a reputation in the latter employment, that he was ſent for to the Imperial court, and made præceptor to Gratian, the ſon of the emperor Valen-
An. 367. tinian I. He accompanied his pupil in that young prince's journey with his father into Germany.

This employment acquired him the higheſt dignities of the empire. He was made Quæſtor by Valentinian. After the death of that prince, Gratian made him *Præfectus Prætorio*; which office he had twice, firſt for Italy and Africa, and afterwards
An. 379. for the Gauls. He was at length declared conſul, at which time Juvenal's maxim was again verified, That,

That, when fortune pleaſes, ſhe makes a conſul of a rhetorician.

*Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore conſul.*

The emperor, in conferring that dignity upon him, forgot nothing that could exalt the favour, by the obliging and generous manner of doing it. To know how to improve gifts and graces thus is a ſcience worthy of a prince. He immediately diſpatched a courier to Auſonius with advice of his being nominated conſul, and wrote to him in theſe terms: "When I conſidered ſome time ago about "the creation of conſuls for this year, I implored "the aſſiſtance of God, as you know it is my "cuſtom to do in whatever I undertake, and as I "know it is your deſire that I ſhould. I believed "it incumbent on me to nominate you Firſt con-"ſul, and that God required that acknowledgment "from me of the good inſtructions I have received "from you. I therefore pay you what I owe you, "and, as I am ſenſible that we can never ſufficiently "diſcharge our obligations to our parents and "maſters, I confeſs myſelf ſtill no leſs in your "debt than I was before." Auſon. in Grat. act.

That nothing might be wanting to the favour he did him, he accompanied this letter with the preſent of a very rich robe, in which the figure of the emperor Conſtantius his father-in-law was embroidered in gold. Auſonius, on his ſide, employed the whole force and delicacy of his genius in praiſing his auguſt benefactor both in verſe and proſe. His oration of thanks to the emperor is ſtill extant, and has been highly eſteemed. There is a great deal of wit in it, perhaps too much; with fine and ſolid thoughts, and ſprightly turns, but often far-fetched and too much ſtudied. The Latinity of it is hard, and ſpeaks the age in which the author lived. That the reader may have ſome idea of his ſtile, I ſhall repeat here the

beginning of this ſpeech, which he pronounced before the emperor:

*Ago tibi gratias, Imperator Auguſte: ſi poſſem, etiam referrem. Sed nec tua fortuna deſiderat remunerandi vices, nec noſtra ſuggerit reſtituendi facultatem. Privatorum iſta copia eſt inter ſe eſſe munificos. Tua beneficia, ut majeſtate præcellunt, ita mutuum non repoſcunt. Quod ſolum igitur noſtræ opis eſt, gratias ago, verum ita, ut apud Deum fieri ſolet, ſentiendo copioſiùs, quam loquendo; atque non in ſacrario modò Imperialis oraculi, qui locus horrore tranquillo & pavore venerabili rarò eundem animum præſtat & vultum: Sed uſquequaque gratias ago, tum tacens, tum loquens; tum in cœtu hominum, tum ipſe mecum; & cùm voce potui & cùm meditatione ſeceſſi; omni loco, actu, habitu, & tempore. Nec mirum, ſi ego terminum non ſtatuo tam grata profitendi cùm tu finem facere neſcias honorandi. Qui enim locus eſt, aut dies, qui non mo hujus aut ſimilis gratulationis admoneat! Admoneat autem! O inertiam ſignificationis ignavæ! Quis, inquam, locus eſt, qui non beneficiis tuis agitet, inflammet?*

There is an extreme inequality in the works of Auſonius. His ſtile is ſtiff and hard, as I have already obſerved; but that ſtiffneſs, that roughneſs, is the leaſt fault of his poems. The obſcenities with which they abound forbid the reading of them to every body that has not renounced all ſhame.

## ST. PAULINUS,

St. PAULINUS, Biſhop of Nola, was born at Bourdeaux about the year 353. The celebrated Auſonius, of whom I ſpoke laſt, was his maſter in profane learning. St. Paulinus declares more than once that he was indebted for every thing to Auſonius, whom he calls his patron, maſter, father, and to whom he acknowledges himſelf indebted for the progreſs he had made in learning, and his elevation to offices and dignities:

*Tibi*

*Tibi diſciplinas, dignitatem, litteras,*
*Linguæ, & togæ, & famæ decus,*
*Provectus, altus, inſtitutus debeo,*
*Patrone, præceptor, parens.* Carm. 10.

He made a great progreſs under ſuch a maſter. Auſonius congratulates him upon it in ſeveral of his poems, and owns, which is no ſmall thing for a poet to allow, that his diſciple carries the bays by his verſes againſt him:

*Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo.*
*Aſſurgit Muſæ noſtra Camœna tuæ.*
Auſon. Epiſt. 20.

The retirement of St. Paulinus, who went into Spain to hide himſelf in ſolitude, drew upon him violent reproaches from Auſonius. That worldly man wrote him many letters to complain of his injurious ſtate of oblivion, in which he flies out againſt his Tanaquil; by which odious name he means his wife Thereſia, to whom he imputes that change. He accuſed his diſciple of having loſt his former good-nature, and of being become moroſe and an hater of mankind. He aſcribes to him, in terms ſufficiently expreſs, a mind perverted by ſpleen and melancholy, that induced him to fly the ſociety and commerce of men: the reproach uſually made by perſons of the world to thoſe who quit it. Id. Epiſt. 24 and 25.

Divine Providence prevented him from receiving any of theſe letters, till he was ſtrong enough to reſiſt the ſnares which the devil laid for him by the hand of a late eſteemed and much beloved maſter. At the end of four years, he received three of them, which he anſwered by ſeveral on his ſide.

After having explained the reaſon of his long ſilence, he excuſes himſelf from reſuming the ſtudy of profane poetry, which did not ſuit a perſon like him, who had devoted his thoughts ſolely to God:

*Quid abdicatas, in meam curam, pater,*
*Redire Muſas præcipis?*
*Negant Camœnis, nec patent Apollini*
*Dicata Chriſto pectora.*

He ſays that he is now no longer to invoke Apollo and the muſes, divinities impotent and deaf; that a God more powerful has taken poſſeſſion of his mind, and requires other ſentiments and a different language from him:

*Nunc alia mentem vis agit, major Deus,*
*Alioſque more poſtulat.*

He afterwards deſcribes the wonderful change operated by grace in the heart of man, when it has ſeized it by right of conqueſt, and has entirely ſubjected it to itſelf, in making it by a chaſte and pure joy loſe all taſte for its former pleaſures and worldly delights; in extinguiſhing all the pains and diſquiet of the preſent life by a lively faith and hope of future happineſs, and in leaving it no other care, than to employ itſelf with its God; in contemplating his wonderful works, in ſtudying his holy will, and endeavouring with all the powers of the ſoul to render him an homage worthy of him by an undivided love that knows no bounds:

*Hic ergo noſtra ut ſuum præcordiis*
*Vibraverit cælo jubar,*
*Abſtergit ægrum corporis pigri ſitum*
*Habitumque mentis innovat.*
*Exhaurit omne quod juvabat antea,*
*Caſtæ voluptatis vice.*
*Totoque noſtra jure domini vindicat*
*Et corda, & ora, & tempora.*
*Se cogitari, intelligi, credi, legi,*
*Se vult timeri & diligi.*
*Æſtus inanes, quos movet vitæ labor*
*Præſentis ævi tramite,*
*Abolet futuræ cum Deo vitæ fides, &c.*

To

To all this he adds a ſtrong proteſtation never to be wanting to what his obligations to Auſonius required of him.

The praiſes, which Auſonius gives St. Paulinus in many places, ſeem rather to regard the poems he compoſed before his renouncing the profane muſes, than thoſe he wrote after. For, after ſo uncommon and generous an abdication, he ſtudied to extinguiſh the greateſt part of his fire; and, having ſtifled in himſelf all deſire of worldly reputation, he checked and neglected his wit and ſtile, and confined himſelf within the bounds of a ſimplicity averſe to all pride, and ſuch as the Chriſtian modeſty requires. He carried this departure from the poet ſo far, as to diſregard even the rules of proſody. But with all the air of negligence, that appears no leſs in his verſification than even in the ſtile in general of his poems, we always find certain natural charms and beauties, which make us love the author and his works.

## ST. PROSPER.

St. PROSPER was of Aquitaine. He was married and a layman, and Secretary of the Briefs to St. Leo the Pope.

Beſides ſeveral other little pieces, which are dubious, we have a conſiderable poem of St. Proſper's againſt the ungrateful, that is to ſay againſt the enemies of the grace of Jeſus Chriſt; wherein, as a profound theologiſt, he explains the doctrine of the Church againſt the Pelagians and Semipelagians.

Mr. Godeau, after many other authors, judges this work an abridgement of all St. Auguſtin's books upon this ſubject, and particularly of thoſe which he wrote againſt Julian. He adds, that the expreſſions are wonderful, and that, in many places, there is reaſon to be amazed how it was poſſible for this Saint to unite the beauty of verſification with the ſeverity of his ſubject. What is beſides ſurpriſing, in this poem, is to ſee the exact regularity with which the

the maxims of the faith are obſerved in it, notwithſtanding the conſtraint of verſe, and the freedom of the poetic ſpirit; and that the truths of religion are neither altered nor weakened by the ornaments of poetry. This poem has been tranſlated into French verſe. I ſhall give the preface of it a place here, which will ſhew both the ſubject of this excellent work, and the ſtile of its author:

*PRÆFATIO.*

Unde voluntatis ſanctæ ſubſiſtat origo,
Unde animis pietas inſit, & unde fides:
Adversùm ingratos, falſa & virtute ſuperbos,
Centenis decies verſibus excolui.
Quos ſi tranquilla ſtudeas cognoſcere cura,
Tutus ab adverſo turbine, Lector, eris.
Nec libertate arbitrii rapiere rebellis,
Ulla nec audebis dona negare Dei.
Sed bona quæ tibi ſunt, operante fatebere Chriſto,
Non eſſe ex merito ſumpta, ſed ad meritum.

French Tranſlation.

*Ma plume en mille Vers combattant pour la Grace,*
*A pour Dieu combattu,*
*Attaquant ces Ingrats pleins de la vaine audace*
*D'une fauſſe vertu.*
*J'ai fait voir d'où nos cœurs conçoivent la racine*
*D'un céleſte deſſein,*
*D'où la foi naît dans nous, d'où la vertu divine*
*Germe dans nôtre ſein.*
*Si donc ton eſprit calme, en liſant cet ouvrage,*
*N'y cherche que du fruit,*
*Ces Vers te ſauveront du funeſte naufrage*
*Où l'erreur nous conduit.*
*Tu n'eleveras point contre ton Roi ſuprême*
*Ta fiére liberté,*
*Et tu ne croiras point mériter par toi-même*
*Les dons de ſa bonté.*

*Mais*

*Mais tu reconnoitras que tu dois toute choſe*
*Au Dieu qui t'eſt ſi doux;*
*Et que notre mérite eſt l'effet, non la cauſe*
*De ſa Grace dans nous.*

*The ſame in Engliſh.*

Whence *holineſs of will* derives its birth,
Whence *piety and faith* illumine earth,
'Gainſt men Ungrateful, of *falſe virtue* vain,
I ſing: a thouſand verſes form the ſtrain.
If, reader, to ſuch knowledge you aſpire,
Search here, and gratify thy good deſire.
From *frantic error* ſafe, the growth of pride,
Theſe, if you ſtudy well, will be your guide:
Nor wilt thou dare againſt the *God of Grace*
Rebellious *human liberty* to place:
Nor wilt thou any of his *gifts* diſown;
Nor think you *merit, but by Him alone:*
*Whate'er is good in thee* thou here wilt trace,
Not as *the cauſe*, but *the effect, of Grace.*

## SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS.

*C. Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius* was born at Lyons. His father was *præfectus prætorio*, and ſon-in-law of the emperor Avitus.

We have twenty-four of his poems, which are uſually printed with the nine books of his epiſtles. The age in which he lived is an excuſe for the hardneſs and obſcurity of his ſtile, and the falſe quantities of his verſes.

He renounced poetry with ſecular things, and compoſed no verſes after he was made biſhop of Clermont in Auvergne, which happened in the year 472.

## AVIENUS.

Rufus Festus Avienus lived in the reign of Theodoſius the elder. This author tranſlated the *Phæno-*

*Phænomena* of Aratus, and the Περιήγησις of Dionyſius, that is to ſay, his deſcription of the earth, into Latin verſe. He had alſo turned all Livy into Iambics: a work uſeleſs enough, and of which the loſs is only to be regretted, *as it contained the ſubſtance of that excellent hiſtorian's matter not come down to us.* There are fables of his extant, which he made into elegiac verſe from Æſop, and dedicated to Theodoſius, who is in reality Macrobius: they are infinitely remote from the purity, beauty, and elegance of Phædrus.

## BOETIUS.

Boetius *(Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius)* was ſole conſul in the year 510.

What verſes this great man made are inſerted in his five books *De conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, which he compoſed in the priſon, where Theodoric king of the Goths, whoſe prime miniſter he was, confined him. His proſe, which is not the moſt excellent, ſeemed to have contributed, like ſhades in painting, to exalt the beauties of his poetry, that abounds with grave ſentences and fine thoughts.

## FORTUNATUS.

Fortunatus was born in the marquiſate of Treviſano. He was made biſhop of Poitiers, and died about the beginning of the ſeventh century.

He is one of the moſt conſiderable of the antient Chriſtian poets. We have eleven books of his miſcellaneous poems in Lyric and Elegiac verſe, and four of the life of St. Martin in Hexameters. The merit of his verſes is to be judged from the age in which he lived.

## CHAPTER II.

## OF HISTORIANS.

HISTORY has with reaſon been called the evidence of time, the light of truth, the ſchool of virtue, the depoſitory of events, and, if the expreſſion may be allowed, the faithful meſſenger of antiquity. And indeed it opens to our view the vaſt ſeries of all paſt ages, and brings them in a manner down to our own times. It makes conquerors, heroes, princes, and all other great perſonages, appear before us; but without the pompous train which attended them during their lives, and reduced to their own perſons, in order to render an account of their actions at the tribunal of poſterity, and ſubmit to a judgment in which flattery has no longer any part, becauſe they have no longer any power.

Hiſtory has alſo the privilege of approaching the thrones of the princes that reign, and is almoſt the only counſellor, who either can or dare impart truth to them, and even ſhew them their faults, if they have any, but under foreign names, to ſpare their delicacy, and to render its advice uſeful by avoiding to give them offence. It is no leſs intent upon the inſtruction of private perſons. It ſets before all in general, of whatſoever age or condition they be, both the models of virtue they are to follow, and the examples they ought to ſhun.

It is eaſy to conceive, that hiſtory, whilſt artleſs and rude in its infancy, was not capable of rendering theſe important ſervices to mankind. It contented itſelf at firſt with preſerving the remembrance of events by carving them upon ſtone and braſs, in fixing them by inſcriptions, by inſerting them

them into public regiſters, and by conſecrating them in ſome meaſure in hymns and ſongs of religion. It roſe by degrees, till at length it attained that height of perfection to which the Greek and Latin writers carried it.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the hiſtory of the people of God compoſed by Moſes, the moſt antient and venerable of all hiſtories: neither ſhall I ſpeak of ſeveral hiſtorians, whoſe names only, or at moſt ſome ſmall fragments of their writings, have come down to us. I ſhall confine myſelf here to the Greek and Latin hiſtorians, whoſe works, either in the whole or in part, are ſtill extant. As I have taken care to quote them exactly in my Antient Hiſtory, and they are my authorities for what I advance there, it ſeemed neceſſary, that ſuch of my readers as have not been converſant with them, ſhould have ſome ſmall knowledge of them, and know at leaſt the times in which they lived, the principal circumſtances of their lives, the works they compoſed, and the judgment paſſed on them by the Learned.

## ARTICLE I.

### *Of the Greek Hiſtorians.*

### SECT. I.

### HERODOTUS.

A. M. 3520. Ant. J. C. 484. Suidas.

HERODOTUS was of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria. He was born the ſame year Artemiſia queen of Caria died, and four years before the deſcent of Xerxes upon Greece. Seeing his country oppreſſed by the tyranny of Lygdamis, Artemiſia's grandſon, he quitted it, and retired into the iſle of Samos, where he learnt the Ionic dialect perfectly.

It was in this dialect he compoſed his hiſtory in nine books. He begins it at Cyrus, according to him,

him, firſt king of Perſia, and continues it to the battle of Mycale, fought in the eighth year of Xerxes, which includes an hundred and twenty years under four kings of Perſia, Cyrus, Cambyſes, Darius, and Xerxes, from the year of the world 3405 to 3524. Beſides the hiſtory of the Greeks and Perſians, which are his principal ſubjects, he treats that of ſeveral other nations, as the Egyptians, which takes up his ſecond book. In the work of his which we have, he cites his hiſtories of the Aſſyrians and Arabians; but nothing of them is come down to us, and it is even doubted whether he finiſhed them, becauſe they are not mentioned by any author. The life of Homer, aſcribed to Herodotus, is not believed to be his. Lib. 1. c. 184.

Herodotus, in order to make himſelf known to all Greece at one and the ſame time, choſe to make his appearance when it was aſſembled at the Olympic games, and read his hiſtory there, which was received with exceeding applauſes. The ſtile in which it is written ſeemed ſo ſweet and flowing, that the audience thought they heard the muſes themſelves; and that from thenceforth occaſioned the names of the muſes to be given to the nine books of which it conſiſts. Suidas.

It appears, that he gave a particular reading of his work to the city of Athens, which well deſerved that diſtinction: this was at the celebrated feaſt of the *Panathenæa*. It is eaſy to judge how highly an hiſtory, compoſed with ſo much art and eloquence, muſt have pleaſed ſuch refined and delicate ears, and wits ſo curious, and of ſo exquiſite a taſte, as thoſe of the Athenians.

It is believed to have been rather at this aſſembly, than the Olympic games, that Thucydides, then very young, perhaps about fifteen, was ſo much affected with the beauty of this hiſtory, that he was ſeized with a kind of tranſport and enthuſiaſm, and ſhed tears of joy in abundance. Herodotus perceived it, and complimented Olorus, the Marcellin. de vit. Thucyd. Suidas.

father

father of the youth, upon that occaſion; exhorting him in the ſtrongeſt terms to take particular care of his ſon, who already ſhewed ſo extraordinary a taſte for polite learning, and who might one day be the honour of Greece. Great perſons cannot be too attentive in encouraging young men by juſt praiſes, in whom they obſerve fine talents and generous inclinations. It is perhaps to theſe few words of Herodotus that the world is indebted for the admirable hiſtory of Thucydides.

I have ſaid, that Thucydides might be about fifteen, when he was preſent at the reading of Herodotus's hiſtory at Athens. Suidas ſays, that he was then only a child, or rather very young, ἔτι παῖς. As he was born but thirteen years after Herodotus, the latter himſelf in conſequence could not at that time be above twenty-eight, which highly adds to the merit of that author, who at that age had compoſed ſo valuable a work.

Herodotus, crowned with glory, thought of returning into his own country, whither the heart always recals us. When he arrived there, he exhorted the people to expel the tyrant that oppreſſed them, and to reinſtate themſelves in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, dearer to the Greeks than life itſelf. His remonſtrances had all the ſucceſs that could be expected, but met with no other reward than ingratitude, through the envy ſo glorious and ſucceſsful an enterpriſe drew upon him. He was obliged to quit an ungrateful country, and thought proper to take the advantage of an opportunity that offered itſelf very favourably. The Athenians were at this time ſending a colony to Thurium, in that part of Italy called Græcia major, to inhabit and re-people that city. He joined this colony, and went with it to ſettle at Thurium, where he ended his days. Thurium was the antient Sybaris, or at leaſt that city was built in the neighbourhood of Sybaris, and the remaining people of that antient

antient place, ruined by the Crotoniatæ, were ſettled there.

I defer ſpeaking of the judgment to be paſſed on Herodotus, till I have gone through the article of Thucydides, in order to compare them with each other.

## SECT. II.

## THUCYDIDES.

THE birth of Thucydides is dated in the 77th Olympiad, thirteen years after that of Herodotus. A. M. 3553. Ant. J. C. 451.

His father was Olorus (ſo called from a king of Thrace) and his mother Hegeſipyle. One of his anceſtors was the antient Miltiades, the ſon of Cypſelus, the founder of the kingdom of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, who having retired into Thrace by the conſent of Piſiſtratus, there married Hegeſipyle the daughter of Olorus king of Thrace, whoſe daughter of the ſame name was very probably the mother of our hiſtorian. Marcellin. de vit. Thucyd. Suidas.

He ſtudied rhetoric under Antiphon, and philoſophy under Anaxagoras. He ſpeaks of the firſt in his eighth book, and ſays that he was for aboliſhing the popular government, and eſtabliſhing that of the Four Hundred at Athens. Thucyd. l. 8. p. 592.

We have already ſaid, that at the age of fifteen he had heard Herodotus's hiſtory read with extreme pleaſure, either at Olympia, or Athens. A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

As he had a violent inclination for ſtudy, he had no thoughts of concerning himſelf in the adminiſtration of the public affairs, and only took care to form himſelf in the military exerciſes that ſuited a young man of his birth. He was employed in the army, and made ſome campaigns.

At twenty-ſeven he was joined in commiſſion for conducting and ſettling a new colony of Athenians at A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444.

at Thurium. He paſſed three or four years in that employment, after which he returned to Athens.

He then married a very rich wife of Thrace, who had a great number of mines in that country. By this marriage his circumſtances were very eaſy, and ſupplied him with the means of expending conſiderable ſums. We ſhall ſoon ſee the good uſe he made of this advantage.

A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431. Thucyd. l. 5. p. 561.

In the mean time the Peloponneſian war broke out, and occaſioned great revolutions and troubles in Greece. Thucydides, who foreſaw that it would be of long duration, and attended with important events, formed from the firſt the deſign of writing the hiſtory of is. It was neceſſary for this purpoſe to have the moſt faithful and certain accounts, and to be informed to the moſt minute circumſtances of all that paſſed on both ſides in every expedition and campaign. And this he effected in an admirable manner that has few examples.

A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424. Thucyd. l. 4. p. 321.

As he ſerved in rhe troops of Athens, he was an eye-witneſs of what paſſed in the army of the Athenians, till the eighth year of that war, that is to ſay, till the time of his baniſhment, of which this was the occaſion: He had been commanded to go to the relief of Amphipolis upon the frontiers of Thrace, a place of great importance to both parties. Braſidas, general of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither firſt, and took the place. Thucydides on his ſide took Eione upon the river Strymon. This advantage, which was inconſiderable to Athens in compariſon with the loſs of Amphipolis, was looked upon as nothing. His having failed of relieving Amphipolis, through want of expedition, was made a crime, and the people, at the inſtigation of Cleon, puniſhed his pretended fault by a ſentence of baniſhment.

Thucydides made his diſgrace conduce to the preparation and execution of the great deſign he had formed of compoſing the hiſtory of this war. He employed

employed the whole time of his baniſhment, which continued twenty years, in collecting his materials with more diligence than ever. His reſiding from thenceforth ſometimes in the country of Sparta, and ſometimes in that of Athens, extremely facilitated the inquiries he had to make. He ſpared no expence for that purpoſe, and made great preſents to the officers on both ſides, in order to his being informed of all that paſſed in the two armies. He had taken the ſame method whilſt in the ſervice.

The Athenians, after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants by Thraſybulus, permitted all the exiles to return, except the Piſiſtratides. Thucydides took the benefit of this decree, and returned to Athens, after a baniſhment of twenty years, at the age of ſixty-eight. It was not till then, according to Mr. Dodwell, that Thucydides actually applied himſelf to the compoſition of his hiſtory, of which he had hitherto been collecting and diſpoſing the materials with incredible care. His ſubject, as I have already obſerved, was the famous Peloponneſian war, which continued twenty-ſeven years. He carried it down no farther than the twenty-firſt incluſively. The ſix years which remained were ſupplied by Theopompus and Xenophon. He uſed the Attic dialect in his hiſtory, as the pureſt and moſt elegant, and at the ſame time the moſt nervous and emphatical: beſides which it was the idiom of Athens, his country. He tells us himſelf, that, in writing it, his view was not to pleaſe, but to inſtruct his readers. For which reaſon he does not call his hiſtory a work compoſed for oſtentation, ἀγώνισμα; but a monument to endure for ever, κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. He divides it regularly by years and campaigns. There is a French tranſlation of this excellent hiſtorian by Mr. D. Ablancourt.

A. M. 3601. Ant. J. C. 403.

Thucyd. l. 1. p. 15. and 16.

Thucydides is believed to have lived thirteen years after his return from baniſhment, and the end of the Peloponneſian war. He died at the age of four-

A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 391. In vit. Cim. p. 480.

ſcore and upwards, at Athens according to ſome, and in Thrace according to others, from whence his bones were brought to Athens. Plutarch ſays, that the tomb of Thucydides was ſhewn in his time within the monument of Cimon's family.

*Compariſon of Herodotus and Thucydides.*

DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS, an excellent hiſtorian and critic, in a letter to Pompey the Great, compares Herodotus and Thucydides, the two moſt eſteemed of the Greek hiſtorians, and expreſſes his judgment of them, as well in reſpect to hiſtory itſelf, as the ſtile they uſe. I ſhall repeat in this place the principal ſtrokes of this ſhort diſſertation: but we muſt remember that our critic is of Halicarnaſſus as well as Herodotus, which may perhaps give room to ſuſpect him of ſome partiality to his countryman.

1. *Matter of Hiſtory conſidered.*

The firſt duty of an author, who intends to compoſe an hiſtory, and to tranſmit the knowledge and remembrance of paſt actions to poſterity, is, in my opinion, to make choice of a ſubject great, noble, and affecting; which, by the variety and importance of facts, may render the reader attentive, and keep him always in a kind of buſy ſuſpence; and laſtly, engroſs and pleaſe him by the nature itſelf of the events, and the good ſucceſs that terminates them.

Herodotus may indiſputably in this point be ſaid to take place of Thucydides. Nothing could be more agreeable and affecting than the ſubject choſen by the former. It is all Greece, jealous to the degree every body knows ſhe was of her liberty, attacked by the moſt formidable power of the univerſe, which, with innumerable forces by ſea and land, undertakes to cruſh and reduce her into ſlavery. It is nothing but victories upon victories, as well by ſea as land, gained over the Perſians by the Greeks, who, without mentioning the moral virtues

carried

carried to the higheſt degree of perfection, ſhew all the valour, prudence, and military abilities, that can be expected from the greateſt of captains. In fine, this war, ſo long and terrible, in which all Aſia, departing out of herſelf and overflowing like a deluge, ſeems to make the total deſtruction of the little country of Greece inevitable, terminates with the ſhameful flight of Xerxes, the moſt powerful king of the earth, who is reduced to eſcape in a little boat, and with a ſucceſs that extinguiſhes for ever in the Perſians all thoughts and deſires of attacking Greece again with open force.

We ſee nothing of this kind in the choice Thucydides has made of his ſubject. He confines himſelf to a ſingle war, which is neither juſt in its principle, very various in its events, nor glorious to the Athenians in its ſucceſs. It is Greece become frantic and poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of diſcord, that imbrues her hands in her own blood, arming Greeks againſt Greeks, allies againſt allies. Thucydides himſelf, from the beginning of his hiſtory, declares and gives his reader a view of all the evils with which that unfortunate war would be attended; ſlaughter of men, plundering of cities, earthquakes, droughts, famine, diſeaſes, plagues, peſtilence, in a word, the moſt dreadful calamities. What a beginning, what a proſpect, is this! Is there any thing more capable of diſguſting and ſhocking the reader?

Such is the firſt reflection of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, which, in my opinion, does not at all affect the merit of the writer. The choice of the matter, and the glorious ſucceſs of a war, do not depend upon an author cotemporary with his ſubject, who is not maſter of his events, and who neither can nor ought to write any thing but what happens. He is unfortunate in being the witneſs of none but deplorable facts, but not the leſs excellent for that reaſon; which is at moſt a reproach that will lie only againſt a Tragic or Epic poet, who diſ-

poſes his matter at his own diſcretion. But, as to an author, who writes the hiſtory of his own times, we have no right to require any thing of him, but that he ſhould be true, judicious, and impartial. Is the ſole end of hiſtory to delight the reader? Ought it not rather to inſtruct him, and are not the great calamities, which are the neceſſary effects of bad paſſions and injuſtice, highly uſeful for teaching mankind to avoid them?

In the ſecond place, it is very important for a writer to make a good choice of his point of view, in order to know where he is to begin, and how far carry on, his hiſtory. And in this Herodotus has ſucceeded wonderfully. He begins with relating the cauſe of the war declared by the Perſians againſt Greece, which is the deſire to revenge an injury * received above two hundred years before; and he concludes the relation of it with the exemplary puniſhment of the Barbarians. The taking of Troy could at moſt be only the pretext of this war, and what a pretext was it! The real cauſe was undoubtedly the ambition of the kings of Perſia, and the deſire of avenging themſelves upon the Greeks for the aid they gave the Ionians. As for Thucydides, he begins his hiſtory with deſcribing the unhappy ſituation of the affairs of the Greeks at that time; a firſt proſpect little agreeable and affecting. He expreſsly imputes the cauſe of this war to the city of Athens, though he might have aſcribed it to the envy of Sparta, its rival from the time of the glorious exploits by which the Athenians had ſo highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war with the Perſians.

This ſecond reflection of our critic ſeems ſtill worſe founded than the firſt. Thucydides might have advanced this pretext, but I don't know whether he could have done it with truth and juſtice: or rather one may poſitively affirm, that he could

* *The deſtruction of Troy by the Greeks, which city was in alliance with Perſia.*

not

not advance it with any face of reaſon whatſoever. It is certain, if we may believe Plutarch, that the cauſe of the war ought to be imputed to the unbounded ambition of the Athenians, who affected univerſal dominion. It is noble in Thucydides to have ſacrificed the glory of his country to the love of truth: a quality in which the moſt eſſential merit and higheſt praiſe of an hiſtorian conſiſt.

Thirdly, Herodotus, who knew that a long relation of the ſame matter, how agreeable ſoever it might be, would diſguſt and become tedious to the reader, has varied his work, after the manner of Homer, by epiſodes and digreſſions, which add much to its beauty, and the reader's pleaſure. Thucydides, on the contrary, is always uniform and in the ſame tone, and purſues his ſubject without giving himſelf time to take breath; heaping up battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, harangues upon harangues; parcelling out, to uſe that expreſſion, actions by campaigns, which might have been ſhewn in all their extent with more grace and perſpicuity.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſeems here not to have had ſufficient attention to the laws of hiſtory, and to have almoſt believed, that an hiſtorian might be judged of in the ſame manner as a poet. 'Many people blame Herodotus for his long and frequent digreſſions, as a conſiderable defect in point of hiſtory. I am far from agreeing with this opinion. They muſt have been very agreeable to the Greeks, at a time when the hiſtory of thoſe different nations, of which they treat, was entirely unknown to them. But I am ſtill farther from blaming the plan and conduct of Thucydides, who hardly ever loſes ſight of his ſubject: for this is one of the principal rules of hiſtory, from which a writer ought never to depart, without the juſteſt reaſons.

Fourthly, Thucydides is religiouſly attached to truth, which ought to be the foundation of hiſtory;

and, which is certainly the firſt and moſt eſſential quality of an hiſtorian, inſerts nothing of fabulous in his work, has no regard to embelliſhing and enlivening it by relating facts and events of the marvellous kind, and does not, upon every occaſion, introduce the gods and goddeſſes, acting by dreams, oracles, and prodigies. In this he is indiſputably ſuperior to Herodotus, who is little delicate and cautious in reſpect to many facts which he advances, and is generally credulous even to weakneſs and ſuperſtition.

Fifthly, If we may believe Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, there is in the writings of Thucydides a gloomineſs of character, and a natural roughneſs of humour, which his baniſhment had ſharpened and exaſperated. He is moſt exact in noting all the faults and wrong meaſures of the generals; and, if he ſometimes remarks their good qualities and ſucceſſes, for he often paſſes them over in ſilence, he ſeems to do it with regret and againſt his will.

I do not know whether this cenſure be well founded; but my reading of Thucydides gave me no ſuch idea of him. I perceived indeed that his matter was ſad and gloomy, but not the hiſtorian. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus diſcerns a quite different temper in Herodotus, that is to ſay, a character of kindneſs and good-nature always equal to itſelf, with an extreme ſenſibility for the good and bad fortune of his country.

### 2. *Elocution conſidered.*

Several things may be conſidered in reſpect to elocution:

Purity, propriety, and elegance of language. Theſe qualities are common to both our hiſtorians, who equally excelled in them, but always in adhering

hering to the noble ſimplicity of nature. * It is remarkable, ſays Cicero, that theſe two authors, who were cotemporary with the ſophiſts, that had introduced a florid, trim, formal, artificial ſtile, and whom Socrates for that reaſon called λογοδαιδάλους, never gave into thoſe minute or rather frivolous ornaments.

Diffuſion or brevity of ſtile. Theſe particularly diſtinguiſh and characteriſe them. The ſtile of Herodotus is ſweet, flowing, and more diffuſe; that of Thucydides lively, conciſe, and vehement. "The one, to uſe Cicero's words, is like a calm "ſtream, whoſe waves flow with Majeſty; the o-"ther like an impetuous torrent; and, when he "ſpeaks of war, we ſeem to hear the trumpet ſound. *Alter ſine ullis ſalebris quaſi ſedatus amnis fluit: alter incitatior fertur, & de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.* Orat. n. 39. "Thucydides is ſo full of things, "that with him the thoughts are almoſt equal in "number to the words; and at the ſame time he "is ſo juſt and cloſe in his expreſſions, that one "cannot tell whether it be the words that adorn the "the thoughts, or the thoughts the words." *Qui (Thucydides) ita creber eſt rerum frequentia, ut verborum propè numerum ſententiarum numero conſequatur: ita porro verbis aptus & preſſus, ut neſcias utrum res oratione, an verba ſententiis illuſtrentur.* Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 56. This cloſe, and in a manner abrupt, ſtile is wonderfully proper for giving ſtrength and energy to diſcourſe, but is generally attended with abundance of obſcurity. And this is what has happened to Thucydides, eſpecially in his harangues, which in many places are almoſt unintelligible; *Ipſæ illæ conciones ita multas habent obſcuras abditaſque ſententias, vix ut intelligantur:* Orat. n. 30. So that the reading of this author requires an

* Sophiſtas λογοδαιδάλους appellat in Phædro Socrates——quorum ſatis arguta multa, ſed minuta quædam——nimiumque depicta. Quo magis ſunt Herodotus Thucydideſque mirabiles: quorum ætas cùm in eorum tempora, quos nominamus, incidiſſet, longiſſime tamen ipſi à talibus deliciis, vel potiùs ineptiis, abfuerunt. *Cic. in Orat. n.* 39.

unin-

uninterrupted attention, and becomes a ſerious ſtudy. For the reſt, it is not ſurpriſing that Thucydides, as he alludes in his harangues to many circumſtances well known in his time, and forgotten afterwards, ſhould have obſcurities in the ſenſe of readers ſo many ages removed from thoſe events. But that is not the principal cauſe of them.

What has been ſaid ſhews what we are to think of our two hiſtorians in reſpect to the paſſions, which as, every body knows prevail in, and conſtitute the principal merit of, Eloquence. Herodotus ſucceeds in thoſe which require ſweetneſs and inſinuation, and Thucydides in the ſtrong and vehement paſſions.

Both have harangues, but they are leſs frequent and ſhorter in the firſt. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus finds a defect in thoſe of Thucydides, which is, that they are always in one and the ſame form and tone, and that the characters of the ſpeakers are ill ſuſtained in them; whereas Herodotus is much happier in thoſe reſpects. Some perſons blame harangues in hiſtory in general, and eſpe-
Vol. XI. cially the direct. I have anſwered this objection elſewhere.

I ſhall conclude this article, which is become longer than I intended, with the elegant and judicious character Quintilian has drawn of our two authors, in which he includes part of what has hi-
Quintil. l. 10. c. 1. therto been ſaid: *Hiſtoriam multi ſcripſere, ſed nemo dubitat duos longe ceteris, præferendos, quorum diverſa virtus laudem pene eſt parem conſecuta. Denſus, & brevis, & ſemper inſtans ſibi Thucydides: dulcis, & candidus, & fuſus Herodotus. Ille concitatis, hic remiſſis affectibus melior: ille concionibus, hic ſermonibus: ille vi, hic voluptate.* "Greece has produced many "famous hiſtorians; but all agree in giving the "preference greatly to two of them, who by diffe-"rent qualities have acquired almoſt equal glory.

"Thucy-

" Thucydides is cloſe, conciſe, and always * haſten-
" ing on to the point in view: Herodotus is ſweet,
" perſpicuous, and more diffuſed. The one is beſt
" for the vehement paſſions, the other for the ſoft
" and agreeable. The one ſucceeds in harangues,
" the other in common diſcourſe. Force ſtrikes us
" in the one, and pleaſure charms us in the other."
What, in my opinion, highly exalts the merit of Herodotus and Thucydides is, that both of them, with few models they could follow, carried hiſtory to its perfection by a different method.

The general eſteem of the antients for theſe two authors is a circumſtance highly in their favour, ſo many great men could hardly be miſtaken in their judgment of them.

## SECT. III.

## XENOPHON.

I Have elſe where treated with ſufficient extent on all that relates to the life and works of Xenophon. I ſhall only ſay ſome few words of them here, to recal the reader's remembrance of them, and their dates.

Xenophon, the ſon of Gryllus, was born at Athens in the third year of the 82d Olympiad. He was ſomething more than twenty years younger than Thucydides, and was a great philoſopher, hiſtorian, and general. A. M. 3554. Ant. J. C. 450.

He engaged himſelf in the troops of young Cyrus, who marched againſt his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Perſia, in order to dethrone him. This occaſioned his baniſhment, the Athenians being at that time in amity with Artaxerxes. The retreat of the Ten Thouſand under the conduct of Xenophon is known to every body, and has immortaliſed his fame. A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401.

* Inſtans ſibi *is hard to render: it means always preſſing forward, haſtening on to the end, tending perpetually to it, without either loſing ſight of it, deviating, or amuſing himſelf in the leaſt.*

After

After his return, he was employed in the troops of Sparta, at firſt in Thrace, and afterwards in Aſia, till Ageſilaus was recalled, whom he accompanied as far as Bœotia. He then retired to Scyllonta, where the Lacedæmonians had given him lands, ſituated at no great diſtance from the city of Elis.

He was not idle in his retirement. He took advantage of the leiſure it afforded him to compoſe his hiſtories. He began with the Cyropædia, which is the hiſtory of Cyrus the Great in eight books. It was followed with that of Cyrus the younger, which includes the famous expedition of the Ten Thouſand, in ſeven books. He then wrote the Grecian hiſtory in ſeven books alſo, that begins where Thucydides left off. It contains the ſpace of almoſt forty-eight years, from the return of Alcibiades into Attica, to the battle of Mantinæa. He alſo compoſed ſeveral particular tracts upon hiſtorical ſubjects.

His ſtile, under an air of ſimplicity and natural ſweetneſs, conceals inimitable graces, that perſons of little delicacy of taſte perceive and admire leſs, but which did not eſcape Cicero, and which made him ſay, "That the muſes ſeemed to ſpeak by the
Orat. n. 62. "mouth of Xenophon:" *Xenophontis voce muſas quaſi locutas ferunt.*

Quintilian, in the praiſe he has left us of this author, has done little more than paraphraſe that
Lib. 10. c. 1. thought: *Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis jucunditatem illam inaffectatam, ſed quam nulla poſſit affectatio conſequi? ut ipſæ finxiſſe ſermonem Gratiæ videantur: &, quod de Pericle veteris Comœdiæ teſtimonium eſt, in hunc transferri juſtiſſimè poſſit, in labris ejus ſediſſe quandam perſuadendi deam.* "What praiſes does "not the charming ſweetneſs of Xenophon deſerve? "ſo ſimple, ſo remote from all affectation, but which "no affectation can ever attain. The Graces them-"ſelves ſeem to have compoſed his diſcourſe; and "what the antient comedy ſaid of Pericles may

"moſt

"most justly be applied to him, that the goddess of "persuasion dwelt upon his lips."

## SECT. IV.

## CTESIAS.

CTESIAS of Cnidos was Xenophon's cotemporary. He was taken prisoner after the battle of young Cyrus with his brother Artaxerxes. Having cured the king of the wound he received in it, he practised physic in the court of Persia with great success, and continued near the person of that prince seventeen years.

He wrote the history of the Assyrians and Persians in twenty-three books. One of the fragments preserved by Photius (for we have nothing of Ctesias but fragments) informs us, that his six first books treated of the history of Assyria, and of all that had happened there before the foundation of the Persian empire: and that from the seventh to the thirteenth inclusively, he related at large the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Magus, Darius, and Xerxes. He continued the history of the Persians down to the third year of the 95th Olympiad, at which time Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, was making great preparations of war against the Carthaginians. Photius. Diod. l. 14. p. 273.

He contradicts Herodous almost in every thing, and is particlarly industrious to falsify him. But his attempt has fallen upon himself, and he is regarded by all the learned as a writer full of lyes and unworthy of belief, as Aristotle calls him. He also differed very often with Xenophon in his accounts. It is surprising, that Diodorus Siculus, Trogus Pompeius, and some others, have chosen to follow Ctesias rather than Herodotus, and even than Xenophon. They were no doubt deceived by the assurance with which he affirms, that he advanced nothing in his writings, of which he was not either an eye-witness Photius. ὐκ ἀξιόπιστος.

witneſs himſelf, had been informed by the Perſians concerned, or had extracted out of their archives.

## SECT. V.

## POLYBIUS.

I Have already ſpoken of this celebrated hiſtorian in ſeveral parts of my hiſtory, which I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, and ſhall only add in this place what ſeems moſt neceſſary for giving the reader ſome idea of the character, actions, and works of this great man. His life, of ſufficient extent and very well written, may be found in the front of the Chevalier Folard's tranſlation of Polybius, of which I ſhall make great uſe, but not without abridging it conſiderably.

A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Polybius was of Megalopolis, a city of Peloponneſus in Arcadia. He came into the world about th 548th year from the foundation of Rome. His father's name was Lycortas, famous for his conſtancy in ſupporting the intereſts of the Achæan league, whilſt under his government.

He was educated, like all the children of his nation, in the higheſt veneration for the Divinity: a pious opinion, in which the Arcadians placed their principal glory, and in which he perſevered with ſo much conſtancy during his whole life, that few profane authors have thought more religiouſly, or ſpoke with more dignity, of the Godhead than him.

Lycortas his father, a profound ſtateſman, was his maſter in politics; as Philopæmen, one of the greateſt and moſt intrepid captains of the antient world, was in war. He reduced to practice the excellent leſſons they had taught him, in the different negotiations and affairs wherein he was employed either jointly with his father or alone, eſpecially during the war of the Romans with Perſeus the laſt king of Macedonia, as I have obſerved in its place.

The

The Romans, after the defeat of that prince, in order to humble and puniſh ſuch of the Achæans as had been moſt warm in ſupporting the Achæan league, and had ſeemed moſt averſe to their views and intereſts, carried away a thouſand of them to Rome: of which number was Polybius. A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.

During his ſtay there, whether his reputation had reached thither before him, or his birth and merit had made the greateſt perſons of Rome deſire his acquaintance, he ſoon acquired the friendſhip of Q. Fabius, and of Scipio the younger, both ſons of Paulus Æmilius, the one adopted by Q. Fabius, and the other by P. Cornelius Scipio, the ſon of the firſt Scipio Africanus. He either lent them his own, or borrowed books for them of others, and converſed with them upon the ſubjects of which they treated. Charmed equally with his great qualities, they prevailed with the prætor, that he ſhould not leave Rome with the reſt of the Achæans. What paſſed at that time between young Scipio, who was but eighteen, and Polybius, and which made way for the great intimacy they afterwards contracted, is, in my opinion, a moſt affecting piece of hiſtory, and may be of great inſtruction to young nobility. I have related this circumſtance at the end of the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

It is evident that Polybius compoſed the greateſt part of his hiſtory, or at leaſt collected his materials for it, at Rome. For where could he be better informed of the events which had paſſed, either during the whole courſe of the ſecond Punic war, than in the houſe of the Scipio's; or during the campaigns againſt Perſeus, than in that of Paulus Æmilius? The ſame may be ſaid in reſpect to all the foreign affairs, which occurred either whilſt he was at Rome, or accompanied Scipio. As he was upon the ſpot either to ſee with his own eyes, or to receive news from the beſt hand, he could not fail of being

being exactly informed of every thing moſt memorable that happened.

A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150. The Achæans, after many fruitleſs applications to the ſenate, at length obtained the return of their exiles: their number was then reduced to three hundred. Polybius did not uſe this permiſſion to go home to Megalopolis, or, if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as he was with him three years after at the ſiege of Carthage. After this expedition, he made ſome voyages upon account of the hiſtory he had always in view. But how great was his grief, when in returning into Peloponneſus he ſaw Corinth burnt and demoliſhed, his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and obliged to ſubmit to the laws of a foreign magiſtrate to be ſent thither every year from Rome. If any thing could conſole him in ſo mounful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity his credit with the Romans gave him of obtaining ſome mitigations of the miſfortunes of his country, and the occaſion he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen, his maſter in the art of war, whoſe ſtatues ſome were for pulling down. I have related this fact.

Vol. IX.

After having rendered his country many ſervices, he returned to Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, at the ſiege of which he was preſent. When Scipio died, he retired into Greece; (for what ſecurity could there be for Polybius at Rome, after Scipio had been put to death by the faction of the Gracchi?) and, having enjoyed during ſix years, in the boſom of his country, the eſteem, gratitude, and affection of his dear citizens, he died at the age of fourſcore and two, of a wound he received by a fall from his horſe.

A. M. 3877. Ant. J. C. 127. Lucian. in Macrob. p. 642. A. M. 3883. Ant. J. C. 121.

His principal works are, the life of Philopæmen; a treatiſe upon the Tactics, or the art of drawing up armies in battle; the hiſtory of the Numantian war, of which Cicero ſpeaks in his letter to Lucceius; and his univerſal hiſtory. Of all theſe works only

only the laſt remains, and that very imperfect. Polybius himſelf calls it *Univerſal Hiſtory*, not in reſpect of times, but of places, becauſe it contained not only the wars of the Romans, but all that paſſed in the known world during the ſpace of fifty-three years, that is to ſay, from the beginning of the ſecond Punic war to the reduction of the kingdom of Macedonia into a province of the Roman empire.

No hiſtory preſents us, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, with ſo great a diverſity of events, all of them deciſive and of the laſt importance: The ſecond Punic war between the two moſt powerful and warlike people of the earth, which at firſt brought Rome to the very brink of deſtruction, and then, by a very ſurpriſing reverſe of fortune, reduced the power of Carthage, and prepared the way for its final ruin: The war with Philip, whom the antient glory of the Macedonian kings, and the name of Alexander the Great, ſtill dreadful in ſome ſenſe, rendered formidable: The war with Antiochus, the moſt opulent king of Aſia, who drew after him great armies both by ſea and land; and that with the Ætolians, his allies, a warlike people, who pretended to give place to no nation in valour and bravery: And laſtly, the laſt Macedonian war with Perſeus, which gave the fatal blow to that empire once ſo terrible, and for which the whole earth was too narrow. All theſe events within the ſpace of little more than fifty years, gave the wondering world a ſenſe of the Roman greatneſs, and ſhewed it that Rome was deſtined to command all the nations of the Univerſe. Could Polybius deſire a greater, more magnificent, or more affecting ſubject of hiſtory?

All the facts which happened in this ſpace of time, compoſed thirty-eight books, in the front of which he had placed two, by way of introduction to the others, and of continuation to the hiſtory of Timæus. His own conſiſted therefore of forty books, of which we have only the five firſt as Polybius

lybius left them, and fragments, ſometimes conſiderable enough, of the twelve that follow, with the *embaſſies* and *examples of virtue and vice*, which the Emperor Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, in the twelfth century, cauſed to be extracted from Polybius's hiſtory, and to be inſerted in his *Political Pandects*; a great collection, in which all that had been written by the antient hiſtorians, upon certain matters, were diſpoſed under their ſeveral heads, and in which the reader might ſee what had been done in the various caſes wherein he might happen to be himſelf, without the trouble of reading thoſe hiſtorians.

And this is the true uſe and great advantage of hiſtory, which, properly ſpeaking, is the ſcience of kings, generals, miniſters of ſtate, and of all who are employed in, or have any relation to, government. For men are always the ſame, they act in all ages upon the ſame principles, and the ſame ſprings almoſt always ſet ſtates in motion, and occaſion the various revolutions that happen in them. That prince was therefore very wiſe to conceive the deſign of eſtabliſhing in his empire a kind of perpetual council, compoſed of the moſt prudent, the moſt experienced, and moſt profound perſons of every kind, that the antient world had produced. This deſign, ſo laudable in itſelf, proved however the great misfortune of all ſucceeding ages. As ſoon as it became the habit to conſult only theſe abridgments, (to which our natural indolence and ſloth ſoon lead us) the originals were conſidered as uſeleſs, and no farther pains were taken to copy them. The loſs of many important works are aſcribed to this cauſe, though other circumſtances no doubt contributed alſo to it. The abridgments themſelves, of which I am ſpeaking, are a proof of this. Of fifty heads, which they contained at firſt, only two are come down to us. If they had been preſerved entire, they might in ſome manner have conſoled us for the loſs of the originals. But all has undergone

gone the common fate of human things, and leaves us only matter of regret.

What a misfortune is it, that ſuch an hiſtory as Polybius's is loſt! Who ever was ſo attentive and exact in aſſuring himſelf of the truth of facts as he? That he might not err in the deſcription of places, a circumſtance highly important in relating military affairs, as an attack, a ſiege, a battle, or a march, he went to them himſelf, and made a great number of voyages, with that ſole view. Truth was his only view. It is from him we have this celebrated maxim, that truth is to hiſtory what eyes are to animals: that, as the latter are of no uſe without ſight, ſo hiſtory without truth is only amuſing and unprofitable narration. Polyb. l. 3. p. 13.

But the facts may here be ſaid to be the leaſt we have to regret. What an irreparable loſs are the excellent maxims of policy, and the ſolid reflections of a man, who, with a natural paſſion for public good, had made it his whole ſtudy; who during ſo many years had been preſent in the greateſt affairs; who had governed himſelf, and whoſe government had given ſuch general ſatisfaction! In theſe the principal merit of Polybius conſiſts, which is what a reader of taſte ought principally to look for in him. For we muſt allow, that the reflections (I mean thoſe of ſo wiſe a man as Polybius) are the ſoul of hiſtory.

His digreſſions are condemned. They are long and frequent, I confeſs; but they abound with ſuch curious facts, and uſeful inſtructions, that we ought not only to pardon him that fault, if it be one, but think ourſelves obliged to him for it. Beſides which, we ſhould remember, that Polybius undertook the univerſal hiſtory of his own times, as he intitles his work; which ought to ſuffice in vindication of his digreſſions.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a critic of great reputation in the antient world, has paſſed a judg-

ment upon our hiſtorian, which gives great reaſon to ſuſpect himſelf, in point of criticiſm. Without any circumlocution he flatly tells us, that no patience is of ſufficient proof to endure the reading of Polybius; and his reaſon for it is, becauſe that author knows nothing of the diſpoſition of words: that is to ſay, his hiſtory had not ſuch round, flowing, numerous periods, as he uſes himſelf, which is an eſſential fault, in point of hiſtory. A military, ſimple, negligent ſtile is to be pardoned in ſuch a writer as ours, who is more attentive to things, than turns of phraſe and diction. I ſhall make no ſcruple therefore to prefer the judgment of Brutus to that of this rhetorician, who far from finding it tedious to read Polybius, was continually peruſing him, and made extracts from him at his leiſure hours. We find him employed in this manner, the evening before the battle of Pharſalia.

Plut. in Brut. p. 985.

## SECT. VI.

## DIODORUS SICULUS.

DIODORUS was of Agyrium a city of Sicily, from whence he was called *Diodorus Siculus*, to diſtinguiſh him from ſeveral other authors of the ſame name. He lived in the time of Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar.

The title of his work is *The Hiſtorical Library*. It contains the hiſtory of almoſt all the nations of the world, whom he in a manner paſſes in review before his reader: Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Medes, Peſians, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, and ſeveral more. It conſiſted of forty books, of which he gives us the plan and ſeries in his preface. The ſix firſt, ſays he, contain what paſſed before the Trojan war, that is to ſay all the fabulous times; in the firſt three are the antiquities of the Barbarians, in the other three thoſe of the Greeks. The eleven

eleven that follow contain the hiſtory of all nations from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander the Great incluſively. In the other twenty-three this general hiſtory is continued down to the beginning of the war with the Gauls, in which Julius Cæſar, after having ſubjected many very warlike nations of Gaul, extended the limits of the Roman empire to the Britiſh iſles.

Of theſe forty books, only fifteen remain, with ſome fragments, moſt of them preſerved by Photius, and the extracts of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus. The five firſt follow each other in their order.

In the firſt, Diodorus treats of the origin of the world, and of what relates to Egypt.

In the ſecond, of the firſt kings of Aſia, from Ninus to Sardanapalus: of the Medes, Indians, Scythians, and Arabians.

In the third, of the Æthiopians and Libyans.

In the fourth, of the fabulous hiſtory of the Greeks.

In the fifth, of the fabulous hiſtory of Sicily and the other iſlands.

The ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth books are loſt.

The following ſeven, from the eleventh to the ſeventh incluſively, contain the hiſtory of ninety years, from the expedition of Xerxes into Greece to the death of Alexander the Great.

The three following, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, treat of the diſputes and wars of Alexander's ſucceſſors down to the diſpoſition of the two armies for the battle of Ipſus; and there ends what remains of the hiſtory of Diodorus Siculus, in a very important part of it, and at the moment a battle is going to be fought, which decides the fate of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

In theſe laſt ten books, which properly include the continued hiſtory of the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, Diodorus introduces alſo the hiſtory

of other nations, and in particular that of the Romans, according as its events concur with his principal ſubject.

Diodorus tells us himſelf in his preface, that he employed thirty years in compoſing his hiſtory, in which his long reſidence at Rome was of great uſe to him. Beſides this he ran over, not without frequent dangers, many provinces of Europe and Aſia, to inform himſelf fully in the ſituation of the cities and other places of which he was to treat: which is no indifferent circumſtance in reſpect to the perfection of hiſtory.

His ſtile is neither elegant nor florid, but ſimple, clear, and intelligible: that ſimplicity has however nothing low and creeping in it.

Diod. l. 20. p. 749. Though he does not approve interrupting the thread of hiſtory with frequent and long harangues, he does not entirely reject the uſe of them, and believes they may be employed with great propriety, when the importance of the ſubject requires it.

Diod. l. 13. p. 149—161. After the defeat of Nicias, the Syracuſans deliberated in their aſſembly upon the treatment it was proper to give the Athenian priſoners. Diodorus repeats the harangues of two orators, which are long and very fine, eſpecially the firſt.

Neither his chronology, nor the names either of the archons of Athens, or of the conſuls and military tribunes of Rome, into which many errors have crept, are to be relied on.

Very ſolid and judicious reflections occur from time to time in this hiſtory. He takes particular care not to aſcribe the ſucceſs of wars, and other enterpriſes, to chance or blind fortune with many other hiſtorians, but to a Wiſdom and Providence which preſides over all events.

Every thing well weighed and conſidered, we ought to ſet a great value upon the works of Diodorus come down to us, and very much to regret

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the loſs of the reſt, which would have afforded great light into every part of antient hiſtory.

## DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS.

The hiſtorian of whom we now ſpeak, appriſes us himſelf, in the preface of his work, that there is little known of his perſon and hiſtory. He was a native of Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria in Aſia Minor, the country of the great Herodotus. His father's name was Alexander, of whom nothing more is known.

He arrived in Italy about the middle of the CLXXXVIIth Olympiad, at the time Auguſtus Cæſar terminated the civil war with Antony. He remained twenty-two years at Rome, which he employed in attaining the Latin tongue with great exactneſs, in ſtudying the literature and writings of the Romans, and eſpecially in carefully collecting materials for the work he had in view: for that ſeems to have been the motive of his voyage.

In order to ſucceed the better in it, he contracted a great intimacy with all the moſt learned perſons of Rome, with whom he frequently converſed. To their informations by word of mouth, which were of great uſe to him, he added a cloſe application to the ſtudy of the Roman hiſtorians in greateſt eſteem, as Cato, Fabius Pictor, Valerius Antias, and Licinius Macer, who are often quoted by Livy.

When he believed himſelf ſufficiently informed in all that was neceſſary to the execution of his deſign, he applied himſelf to it. The title of his work is *The Roman Antiquities*, which he called it, becauſe, in writing the Roman hiſtory, he traces it back to its moſt antient origin. He continued his hiſtory down to the firſt Punic war, at which period he ſtopped, perhaps becauſe his plan was to clear up that part of the Roman hiſtory which was leaſt known. For, from the firſt Punic war, that hiſtory

had been written by cotemporary authors in every body's hands.

Of the twenty books, which compoſe his Roman Antiquities, we have now only the firſt eleven, that come down no lower than the 312th year from the foundation of Rome. The nine laſt, which contained all that happened to the 488th according to Cato, and the 490th according to Varro, have periſhed through the injuries of time. Almoſt as often as we ſpeak of any antient author, we are obliged to deplore the loſs of part of his works, eſpecially when they are excellent, as were thoſe of the writer in queſtion.

We have alſo ſome fragments of his upon the ſubject of embaſſies, which are only detached and very imperfect pieces. The two heads of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus which remain, have alſo preſerved ſeveral fragments of this author.

Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, ſpeaks of the twenty books of antiquities, as of a perfect work which he had read. He cites beſides an abridgment, which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis made of his hiſtory in five books. He praiſes it for its purity, elegance, and exactneſs; and makes no ſcruple to ſay, that this hiſtorian in his epitome has excelled himſelf.

We have two tranſlations ſufficiently recent of the hiſtory of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, which have each their merit, but of a different kind. It does not belong to me to compare them, or to give one the preference to the other. I leave that to the public, which has a right to paſs judgment upon the works abandoned to it. I only propoſe to make great uſe of them in compoſing the Roman hiſtory.

Father Jay the Jeſuit, in the preface to his tranſlation of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, gives us an idea and character of this author, to which it is hard to add any thing. I ſhall almoſt do no more than copy him, except it be in abridging him in ſome places.

All

All the writers, antient and modern, who have ſpoken with any judgment of his hiſtory, diſcover in him facility of genius, profound erudition, exact diſcernment, and judicious criticiſm. He was verſed in all the liberal arts and ſciences, a good Philoſopher, a wiſe Politician, and an excellent Rhetorician. He has drawn himſelf in his work without deſigning it. We ſee him there a friend of truth, remote from all prejudice, temperate, zealous for religion, and a declared enemy of the impiety which denies Providence.

He does not content himſelf with relating the wars abroad; but deſcribes with the ſame care the tranſactions of peace, that conduce to good order at home, and to the ſupport of union and tranquillity amongſt the citizens. He does not tire the reader with tedious narrations. If he deviates into digreſſions, it is always to inſtruct him in ſomething new, and agreeable. He mingles his accounts with moral and political reflections, which are the ſoul of hiſtory, and the principal advantage to be attained from the ſtudy of it. He treats his matter with far more abundance and extent than Livy; and what the latter includes in his three firſt books the Greek author makes the ſubject of eleven.

It is certain that, without what remains of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, we ſhould be ignorant of many things, of which Livy and other Latin hiſtorians have either neglected to inform us, or ſpeak of very ſuperficially. He is the only writer that has given us a perfect knowledge of the Romans, and has left poſterity a circumſtantial account of their ceremonies, worſhip, ſacrifices, manners, cuſtoms, diſcipline, triumphs, *Comitia* or aſſemblies, *Cenſus* or the numbering, aſſeſſing, and diſtribution of the people into tribes and claſſes. We are indebted to him for the laws of Romulus, Numa, and Servius Tullius, and for many things of the like nature. As he wrote his hiſtory, only to inform the Greeks,

Greeks, his countrymen, in the actions and manners of the Romans, which were unknown to them, he thought himſelf obliged to be more attentive and expreſs upon thoſe heads than the Latin hiſtorians, who were not in the ſame caſe with him.

As to the ſtile which the Greek and Latin hiſtorians have uſed in their works, F. Jay contents himſelf with the judgment Henry Stephens paſſes upon it: "That the Roman hiſtory could not be better "written than Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has done "it in Greek, and Livy in Latin."

For my part, I am far from ſubſcribing to this opinion, which gives Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus a kind of equality with Livy, and ſeems to make them equal in point of ſtile. I find an infinite difference between them in this reſpect. In the Latin author, the deſcriptions, images, and harangues, are full of beauty, force, vivacity, ſublimity, and majeſty: in the Greek, every thing is weak, prolix, and languid, in compariſon with the other. I could wiſh that the limits of my work would admit me to inſert here one of the fineſt facts in the hiſtory of antient Rome; that is the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii; and to compare the two paſſages together. In Livy, the reader believes himſelf actually preſent whilſt they engage. At the firſt ſight of their naked ſwords, the noiſe and claſh of their arms, and the blood ſtreaming from their wounds, he finds himſelf ſtruck with horror. He ſhares with the Romans and Albans their different emotions of fear, hope, grief, and joy, which on both ſides alternately ſucceed each other. He is continually in ſuſpence, and anxiouſly waits the ſucceſs, which is to decide the fate of the two people. The narration of Dionyſius, which is much longer, gives the reader ſcarce any of theſe emotions. He runs it over in cold blood, without quitting his natural tranquillity and indifference; and is not in a manner tranſported out of himſelf by the violent agitations

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he feels from Livy, on every change that happens in the fortune of the combatants. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus may have ſeveral advantages of Livy in other reſpects, but, in my opinion, is by no means comparable to him in reſpect to ſtile.

## PHILO. APION.

PHILO was Jew of Alexandria, of the ſacerdotal race, and deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious families of the whole city. He had ſtudied the Sacred Writings, which are the ſcience of the Jews, with great care. He acquired much reputation alſo by human learning and philoſophy, eſpecially that of Plato. He was deputed by the Jews of Alexandria to the emperor Caligula, to vindicate the right they pretended to have to the freedom of that city.

Beſides many other works, according to Euſebius, he wrote the ſufferings of the Jews under Caligula in five books. Only the two firſt have been preſerved, of which the one has for its title, *Embaſſy to Caius*. The three others are loſt. It is ſaid that Philo, in the reign of Claudius, having read, in the full ſenate, his writings againſt the impiety of Caligula, they were ſo well approved, that they were ordered to be placed in the public library.

Euſeb. l. 2. c. 5.

Ibid. c. 18.

APION, or APPION, was an Egyptian, born at Oaſis, in the moſt remote part of Egypt. But, having obtained the freedom of Alexandria, he called himſelf a native of that place. He was a grammarian by profeſſion, as thoſe who excelled in human learning and the knowledge of antiquity were termed in thoſe times. He was placed at the head of the deputies ſent by the people of Alexandria to Caligula againſt the Jews of that city.

He had been the pupil of Didymus, a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria. He was a man of great learning, and perfectly verſed in the Grecian hiſtory, but very full of himſelf, and paſſionately enamoured of his own merit.

Suid. Aul. Gell. l. 5. c. 14.

His

His hiſtory of Egypt is cited by authors, and contained almoſt whatever was moſt memorable in that famous country. Hſpoke very ill of the Jews in it, and ſtill worſe in another work, in which he had induſtriouſly collected all kinds of calumny againſt them.

Aul. Gell. Ibid. The ſtory of a ſlave called Androcles, who was provided with food during three years by a lion he had cured of a wound, and afterwards known by the ſame lion, in the ſight of the whole city of Rome, when he was expoſed to fight with wild beaſts, muſt have happened about the time we ſpeak of, becauſe Apion, from whom Aulus Gellius quotes it, declared that he was an eye-witneſs of it. The ſlave in conſequence was rewarded with his life and liberty, beſides the lion. This fact is deſcribed at large in Aulus Gellius, and is worth reading.

## JOSEPHUS.

A. D. 37. Joſeph. in vita ſua. JOSEPHUS was of Jeruſalem, and of the ſacerdotal race. He was born in the firſt year of Caligula. He was ſo well inſtructed, that at the age of fourteen the Pontiffs themſelves conſulted him concerning the Law. After having carefully examined the three ſects into which the Jews were then divided, he choſe that of the Phariſees.

A. D. 56. At the age of nineteen he began to have a ſhare in the public affairs.

A. D. 67. He ſuſtained with incredible valour the ſiege of Jotaphat for almoſt ſeven weeks. That city was taken in the thirteenth year of Nero, and coſt the Romans very dear. Veſpaſian was wounded in it. Forty thouſand Jews were killed there; and Joſephus, who had hid himſelf in a cave, was at laſt reduced to ſurrender himſelf to Veſpaſian.

I ſhall not relate all that paſſed from that time to the ſiege and taking of Jeruſalem: he does it himſelf at large, to whom I refer the reader. I ſhall only obſerve that, during the whole war, and even

even whilſt he continued captive, Veſpaſian and Titus always kept him near their perſons; ſo that nothing happened of which he was not perfectly informed. For he ſaw with his own eyes all that was done on the ſide of the Romans, and ſet it down exactly; and was told by deſerters, who all applied to him, what paſſed in the city, which no doubt he did not fail to note alſo.

It is more than probable that he learnt the Greek tongue, after the taking of Jotaphat, and when he ſaw himſelf obliged to live with the Romans. He owns that he never could pronounce it well, becauſe he did not learn it whilſt young; the Jews ſetting little value upon the knowledge of languages. Photius judges his ſtile pure. Antiq. l. 20. c. 9. Phot. c. 47.

After the war, Titus went to Rome, and took him thither along with him. Veſpaſian cauſed him to be lodged in the houſe he lived in before he was emperor, made him a citizen of Rome, gave him a penſion with lands in Judæa, and expreſſed abundance of affection for him as long as he lived. It was undoubtedly Veſpaſian who gave him the name of Flavius, which was that of his family, when he made him a Roman citizen. A. D. 71.

In the leiſure Joſephus enjoyed at Rome, he employed himſelf in writing the hiſtory of the war with the Jews from the materials he had prepared before. He compoſed it firſt in his own language, which was almoſt the ſame as the Syriac. He afterwards tranſlated it into Greek for the nations of the empire, tracing it back to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees.

Joſephus makes profeſſion of relating with entire veracity all that paſſed on both ſides, reſerving of his affection for his country, only the right of deploring its misfortunes ſometimes, and of deteſting the crimes of the ſeditious, who had occaſioned its final deſtruction.

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As ſoon as he had finiſhed his hiſtory in the Greek, he preſented it to Veſpaſian and Titus, who were extremely pleaſed with it. The latter afterwards was not contented with ordering it to be publiſhed, and placing it in a library open to every body; but ſigned the copy depoſited there with his own hand, to ſhew that he deſired it ſhould be from him alone all the world was informed of what paſſed during the ſiege, and at the taking of Jeruſalem.

Beſides the veracity and importance of this hiſtory, wherein we find the entire and literal accompliſhment of the predictions of JESUS CHRIST againſt Jeruſalem, and the terrible vengeance taken by God of that unfortunate nation for the death they had made his Son ſuffer, the work in itſelf is highly eſteemed for its beauty. Photius's judgment of this hiſtory is, that it is agreeable, and full of elevation and majeſty, without ſwelling into exceſs or bombaſt; that it is lively and animated, abounding with that kind of eloquence which either excites or ſoothes the paſſions of the ſoul at pleaſure; that it has a multitude of excellent maxims of morality; that the ſpeeches in it are fine and perſuaſive; and that, when it is neceſſary to ſupport the opinions of the oppoſite parties, it is ſurpriſingly fruitful of ingenious and plauſible reaſonings on both ſides. St. Jerom gives Joſephus ſtill higher praiſes in a ſingle word, which perfectly expreſſes his character, by calling him the *Livy* of the Greeks.

Phot. c. 47.

Hieron. Ep. 22.

After Joſephus had written the hiſtory of the deſtruction of the Jews, he undertook the general hiſtory of that nation, beginning at the creation of the world, in order to make known to the whole earth the wonderful works of God that occur in it. This he executed in twenty books, to which he gives the title of Antiquities, though he continues them down to the twelfth year of Nero, when the Jews revolted. It appears that he inſcribed this work to Epaphroditus, a curious and learned man, who is believed

lieved to be the celebrated freedman of Nero that Domitian put to death in the year 95. Joſephus finiſhed this work in the 56th year of his age, which A. D. 93. was the 13th of Domitian's reign.

He declares in it that he neither adds to, nor di- In præfat. miniſhes any thing of what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, from which he has extracted what he relates, till after the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity. But he has not kept his word ſo religiouſly as might be deſired. He inſerts ſome facts which are not in the Scripture, retrenches many others, and diſguiſes ſome, in a manner that renders them merely human, and makes them loſe that divine air, that majeſty, which the ſimplicity of the Scripture gives them. Beſides which, after having related the greateſt of God's miracles, he is inexcuſable for often weakening their authority by leaving every body at liberty to believe of them as they pleaſe.

Joſephus was willing to annex the hiſtory of his own life to his Antiquities, whilſt there were many perſons ſtill in being who could have contradicted him, if he had departed from the truth. Accord- A. D. 96. ingly it appears that he wrote it preſently after them; and it is taken as part of the 20th book of his Antiquities. He employs almoſt all of it in relating what he did, when governor of Galilee, before the arrival of Veſpaſian.

As many perſons declared they doubted what he ſaid of the Jews in his Antiquities, and objected, that, if that nation were ſo antient as he made it, other hiſtorians would have ſpoken of it; he undertook a work not only to prove, that many hiſtorians had ſpoken of the Jews, but to refute all the calumnies vented againſt them by different authors, and particularly Apion, of whom we have ſpoken; which occaſions the whole work's being uſually called *Againſt Apion*.

No

No writings were ever more generally eſteemed than thoſe of Joſephus. The tranſlation of them appeared in our language, at a time when, for want of better books, romances were the general ſtudy of the world. It contributed very much to abate that bad taſte. And indeed we may eaſily conceive, that only perſons of a wrong, light, ſuperficial turn of mind could attach themſelves to works that are no more than the idle imaginations of writers without weight or authority, in preference to hiſtories ſo fine and ſolid as thoſe of Joſephus. Truth alone is the natural nouriſhment of the mind, which muſt be diſtempered to prefer, or even compare, fiction and fable to it.

## SECT. VII.

## PLUTARCH.

A. D. 48. PLUTARCH was born at Chæronea, a town of Bœotia, five or ſix years before the death of the emperor Claudius, as near as can be conjectured. Bœotia was cenſured by the antients as a country that produced no men of wit or merit. Plutarch, not to inſtance Pindar and Epaminondas, is a good refutation of this unjuſt prejudice, and an evident proof, as he ſays himſelf, that there is no ſoil in which genius and virtue cannot grow up.

He deſcended from one of the beſt and moſt conſiderable families of Chæronea. The name of his father is not known: he ſpeaks of him as a man of great merit and erudition. His uncle was called Lamprias, of whom he ſays, that he was very eloquent, had a fruitful imagination, and excelled himſelf when at table with his friends. For at that time his genius conceived new fire, and his imagination, which was always happy, became more lively and abundant; Plutarch has preſerved this witty ſaying of Lamprias upon himſelf: *That wine had the ſame effect upon his wit, as fire upon incenſe;*

*incenſe; it made the fineſt and moſt exquiſite parts of it evaporate.*

Plutarch tells us, that he ſtudied philoſophy and mathematics at Delphi, under the philoſopher Ammonius, during Nero's voyage into Greece, at which time he might be about ſeventeen or eighteen years old.

The talents of Plutarch ſeem to have diſplayed themſelves very early in his country. For, whilſt he was very young, he was deputed with another citizen upon an important affair to the proconſul. His colleague having ſtopped on the way, he went forwards alone, and executed their joint commiſſion. At his return, when he was preparing to give an account of it to the public, his father taking him aſide, ſpoke to him to this effect: "In "the report you are going to make, ſon, take "care not to ſay, *I went, I ſpoke, I did thus:* but "always ſay, *We went, we ſpoke, we did thus*; giv- "ing your colleague a part in all your actions, "that half the ſucceſs may be aſcribed to him, "whom his country honoured with an equal ſhare "in the commiſſion: by this means you may "avoid the envy which ſeldom fails to attend the "glory of having ſucceeded." This is a wiſe leſſon, but ſeldom practiſed by ſuch as have colleagues, either in the command of armies, public adminiſtrations, or in any commiſſions whatſoever; in which it often happens, through a miſtaken ſelf-love, and a deſpicable and odious meanneſs of ſpirit, that men are for arrogating to themſelves the honour of a ſucceſs, to which they have only a right in common with their colleagues. They do not reflect, that glory generally follows thoſe who fly it, and pays them back with great intereſt the praiſes they are willing to divide with others. Plut. in Moral. p. 816.

He made many voyages into Italy, on what occaſion is not known. We can only conjecture with very good foundation, that the view of car-

rying on and making his lives of illuſtrious men as compleat as poſſible obliged him to reſide more at Rome, than he would otherwiſe have done. What he ſays in the life of Demoſthenes, ſtrengthens this conjecture. According to him, "a man who undertakes to collect facts, and to write an hiſtory conſiſting of events, which are neither in his own hands, nor have happened in his own country, but which are foreign, various, and diſperſed here and there in many different writings; it is abſolutely neceſſary for ſuch a man to reſide in a great and populous city, where good taſte in genetal prevails. Such a reſidence puts it into his power to have a multiplicity of books at his diſpoſal, and to inform himſelf, by converſation, of all the particulars which have eſcaped writers, and which, from being preſerved in the memories of men, have only acquired the greater authority from that kind of tradition. It is the means not to compoſe a work imperfect and defective in its principal parts."

In vit. Demoſt. p. 846.

It is impoſſible to tell exactly when he took theſe voyages. We can only ſay for certain, that he did not go to Rome for the firſt time till the end of Veſpaſian's reign, and that he went there no more after that of Domitian. For it appears, that he was ſettled in his country for good, a little before the latter's death; and that he retired thither at the age of forty-four or forty-five.

His motive for fixing his retirement there, from thenceforth, is worth obſerving. *I was born*, ſays he, *in a very ſmall city; and, to prevent it from being ſmaller, I chuſe to remain in it.* And indeed what glory has he not acquired it! Cato of Utica, having with difficulty prevailed upon the philoſopher Athenodorus to go with him from Aſia to Rome, was ſo much pleaſed with, and ſo proud of that conqueſt, that he conſidered it as a greater, more glorious, and more uſeful exploit, than thoſe of

Lucullus

Lucullus and Pompey, who had triumphed over the nations and empires of the Eaſt. If a ſtranger, famous for his wiſdom, can do ſo much honour to a city of which he is not a native, how much muſt a great philoſopher, a great author, exalt the city that produced him, and in which he chuſes to end his days, though he could find greater advantages elſewhere. Mr. Dacier ſays with reaſon, that nothing ought to do Plutarch more honour than this love and tenderneſs which he expreſſed for Chæronea. We every day ſee people quit their country to make their fortunes, and aggrandiſe themſelves; but none who renounce their ambition, to make, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, the fortune of their country.

Plutarch has rendered his very famous. Hardly any body remembers that Chæronea was the place where Philip gained the great victory over the Athenians and Bœotians, which made him maſter of Greece; but multitudes ſay it was there Plutarch was born, it was there he ended his days, and wrote moſt of thoſe fine works that will be of eternal uſe and inſtruction to mankind.

During his ſtay at Rome, his houſe was always full of the lovers of learning, amongſt whom were the greateſt perſonages of the city, who went thither to hear his diſcourſes upon the different ſubjects of philoſophy. In thoſe times, the principal perſons of the ſtate, and the emperors themſelves, thought it for their honour, and made it their pleaſure, to be preſent at the lectures of the great philoſophers and famous rhetoricians. We may judge of the paſſion with which theſe public diſſertations of Plutarch were heard, and of the attention of his auditors, from what he tells us himſelf in his treatiſe upon curioſity. "Formerly at Rome, Pag. 512.
"ſays he, when I was ſpeaking in public, Arule-
"nus Ruſticus, whom Domitian afterwards put to
"death through envy of his glory, was one of my
"hearers. Whilſt I was in the midſt of my diſ-

" courſe, an officer came in, and delivered him a " letter from Cæſar, (probably Veſpaſian.) The " aſſembly kept a profound ſilence at firſt, and I " ſtopped to give him time to read his letter: but " he would not; and did not open it till I had " done, and the aſſembly was diſmiſſed." This was perhaps carrying deference for the orator a little too far. A fault not very common, with the excuſe of a very laudable principle!

Plutarch's diſſertations were always in Greek. For, though the Latin tongue was uſed throughout the empire, he did not underſtand it well enough to ſpeak it. He tells us himſelf, in the life of Demoſthenes, that, during his reſidence at Rome, the public affairs, with which he was charged, and the number of perſons that came every day to entertain themſelves with philoſophy, did not afford him time for learning it; that he did not begin to read the writings of the Romans till very late; and that the terms of that language did not ſerve ſo much to make him underſtand the facts, as the knowledge he had before of the facts, to make him underſtand the terms. But the Greek tongue was well known at Rome, and, properly ſpeaking, was even the language of the ſciences, witneſs the works of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wrote his admirable reflections in Greek. This want of knowing the Latin tongue made Plutarch commit ſome faults, which are to be obſerved in his writings.

Pag. 846.

He had the moſt conſiderable offices in his country: for he was Archon, that is, principal magiſtrate. But he had paſſed through inferior employments before, and had acted in them with the ſame care, application, and ſatisfaction of the public, as he did afterwards in the moſt important. He was convinced, and taught others by his example, that the employments with which our country thinks fit to charge us, however low they may ſeem, reflect no diſhonour upon us, and that it depends on a man of worth

In Moral. p. 811.

worth and ſenſe to make them noble, by the manner in which he acquits himſelf of them; and this he proves by the example of Epaminondas.

As Plutarch punctually diſcharged all the duties of civil life, and was at the ſame time a good ſon, a good brother, father, huſband, maſter, and citizen; he had the pleaſure in conſequence to find, in his domeſtic affairs, and throughout his family, all the peace and ſatisfaction he could deſire: a felicity not very common, and the effect of a wife, moderate, and obliging ſpirit. He ſpeaks much in favour of his brothers, ſiſters, and wife. She was deſcended from the beſt families of Chæronea, and was eſteemed a model of prudence, modeſty, and virtue: her name was Timoxena. He had four ſons ſucceſſively by her, and one daughter. He loſt two of the firſt, and after them the daughter at two years of age. We have his letter of conſolation to his wife upon the death of this child. Conſol ad uxor. p. 608, &c.

He had a nephew, called Sextus, a philoſopher of ſuch great learning and reputation, that he was ſent for to Rome to teach the emperor Marcus Aurelius the Grecian literature. That emperor mentions him much for his honour in the firſt book of his reflections. *Sextus*, ſays he, *taught me by his example to be mild and obliging, to govern my houſe as a good father of a family, to have a grave ſimplicity without affectation, to endeavour to find out and prevent the deſires and wants of my friends, to bear the ignorant and preſuming who ſpeak without thinking of what they ſay, and to adapt myſelf to the underſtanding of all men*, &c. Theſe are all excellent qualities, eſpecially that which induced him *to find out and prevent the deſires and wants of his friends*, becauſe it ſhews, that Marcus Aurelius knew the eſſential duty of a prince, which is to be fully convinced within himſelf, that, as a prince, he is born for others, and not others for him. As much may be ſaid of all perſons in place and authority.

It is time to proceed to the works of Plutarch. They are divided into two claſſes, the Lives of illuſtrious men, and his Morals.

In the latter there are a great number of curious facts not to be found elſewhere, with very uſeful leſſons both for the conduct of private life, and the adminiſtration of public affairs; and even admirable principles concerning the divinity, providence, and the immortality of the ſoul; but with a mixture every-where of the abſurd and ridiculous opinions, which we find in almoſt all the Pagans. The ignorance alſo of true phyſics renders the reading of many of theſe tracts tedious and diſagreeable.

The moſt eſteemed part of Plutarch's works is his lives of illuſtrious men, Greeks and Romans, whom he matches as near as poſſible and compares together. We have not all he compoſed; at leaſt ſixteen of them being loſt. Thoſe, of which the loſs is moſt to be regretted, are the lives of Epaminondas and the two Scipio's *Africani*. The compariſons of Themiſtocles and Camillus, of Pyrrhus and Marius, of Phocion and Cato, and of Cæſar and Alexander, are alſo wanting.

It would not be ſurpriſing if a man of fine taſte and judgment were aſked, which of all the books of profane antiquity he would preſerve, if he had the choice of ſaving only one of them from being burnt with all the reſt; we ought not to wonder I ſay, if ſuch a man pitched upon Plutarch's lives.

It is not only the moſt accompliſhed work we have, but the moſt proper for forming men either for public afairs and functions abroad, or for private and domeſtic life. Plutarch does not ſuffer himſelf, like the generality of hiſtorians, to be dazzled by the ſplendor of actions which make a great deal of noiſe, and attract the admiration of the vulgar and the many. He uſually judges of things by what conſtitutes their real value. The wiſe reflections, which he ſcatters every-where in his writings, ac-

cuſtom

cuſtom his readers to think in the ſame manner, and teach them wherein true greatneſs and ſolid glory conſiſt. He inflexibly denies thoſe exalted attributes to every thing that does not bear the ſtamp of juſtice, truth, goodneſs, humanity, love of the public, and has only the appearance of them. He does not ſtop at the exterior and glittering actions, in which princes, conquerors, and the other great ones of the earth, intent upon acquiring themſelves names, play each their part upon the ſtage of the world, where they exhibit, to uſe the expreſſion, a tranſitory and aſſumed character, and ſucceed in the counterfeit for a time. He unmaſks and diveſts them of all the foreign glare and diſguiſe that ſurround them; he ſhews them as they are in themſelves; and, to put it out of their power to eſcape his piercing ſight, he follows them with his reader into the moſt ſecret receſſes of their houſes, examines them, if I may ſay ſo, in their diſhabille, liſtens to their moſt familiar converſations, conſiders them at table where conſtraint ſeldom comes, and even at play, where diſguiſe is ſtill more unuſual. Theſe are the qualities in which Plutarch is wonderful, and which, in my opinion, are too much neglected by modern hiſtorians, who ſhun particulars of a common nature as low and trivial, which however ſhew the characters of men better than more great and glaring circumſtances. Theſe details are ſo far from diminiſhing the merit of Plutarch's lives, that they are directly what renders them at the ſame time more agreeable and more uſeful.

The reader will permit me to give an inſtance of this kind of actions in this place. I have already cited it in my treatiſe upon the ſtudy of polite learning, in that part of it where I examine in what true greatneſs conſiſts.

The marſhal Turenne never ſet out for the army, without having firſt ordered all his tradeſmen to be directed to deliver in their bills to his ſteward. His

reaſon for it was, becauſe he did not know whether he ſhould return from the field. This circumſtance may appear little and low to ſome people, and not worthy of a place in the hiſtory of ſo great a man as that marſhal. Plutarch would not have thought ſo; and I am convinced, that the author of the new life of that prince, who is a man of ſenſe and judgment, would not have omitted it, if it had come to his knowledge. For indeed it argues a fund of goodneſs, equity, humanity, and even religion, which are not always to be found in great lords, who are too apt to be inſenſible to the complaints of the artiſan and the poor, the payment of whom however deferred only a few days, according to the Holy Scripture, cries for vengeance to heaven, and does not fail to obtain it.

As to the ſtile of Plutarch, his diction is neither pure nor elegant: but to make us amends it has a wonderful force and energy in painting the moſt lively images in few words, in venting the ſharpeſt and moſt piercing things, and in expreſſing noble and ſublime thoughts. He frequently enough makes uſe of compariſons, which throw abundance of grace and light into his narrations and reflections; and has harangues of inimitable beauty, almoſt always in the ſtrong and vehement ſtile.

The beauties of this author muſt be very ſolid, and bear much of the ſtamp of good taſte in them, to make themſelves ſo perceptible as they ſtill are in the old French of Amiot. But I miſtake. That old French has an air of freſhneſs, a ſpirit in it, that ſeems to make it bloom and grow young again every day. Hence it is that very good judges chuſe rather to uſe the tranſlation of Amiot, than to tranſlate the paſſages they quote from Plutarch themſelves, *not believing* (ſays Mr. Racine*) *themſelves capable of equalling the beauties of it.* I never read it, without regretting the loſs of abundance

* *In the preface to his Mithridates.*

of

of happy terms and expreſſions in that old language, which have almoſt as much energy as thoſe of Plutarch. We ſuffer our language to impoveriſh itſelf every day, inſtead of being ſtudious, after the example of our neighbours the Engliſh, of diſcoveries to inrich it. It is ſaid that our ladies, out of too much delicacy, are partly the cauſe of that dearth, to which our language is in danger of being reduced. This would be very wrong, and they ought rather to favour with their ſuffrages, which would bring over abundance of followers, the prudent boldneſs of writers of a certain rank and merit; who, on their ſide, ſhould aſſume more boldneſs, and venture more new words than they do, but always with judicious reſerve and diſcretion.

We are however obliged to Mr. Dacier for having ſubſtituted a new tranſlation of Plutarch's lives to that of Amiot, and for having thereby inabled much greater numbers to read them. It might have been more elegant and more laboured. But to carry a work of ſo vaſt an extent to its ultimate perfection would require the whole life of an author.

## ARRIAN.

ARRIAN was of Nicomedia. His learning and eloquence, which acquired him the title of the new Xenophon, raiſed him to the higheſt dignities, and even the conſulſhip, at Rome. There is reaſon to believe him the ſame Arrian who governed Cappadocia in the latter part of Adrian's reign, and repulſed the Alans. He lived at Rome in the time of Adrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius.

He was the diſciple of Epictetus, the moſt celebrated philoſopher of that time. He wrote a work upon *the converſations of Epictetus* in eight books, of which we have only the four firſt; and compoſed many other treatiſes.

His ſeven books upon the expeditions of Alexander are come down to us; an hiſtory the more valuable,

valuable, as we have it from a writer who was both a warrior, and a good politician. Photius accordingly gives him the praiſe of having wrote the life of that conqueror better than any body. We have from that critic an abridgment of the lives of Alexander's ſucceſſors, which Arrian alſo wrote in ten books. He adds, that the ſame author compoſed a book upon India; and it is ſtill extant, but has been made the eighth book of the hiſtory of Alexander.

He alſo wrote a deſcription of the coaſts of the Euxine ſea. Another is aſcribed to him upon thoſe of the Red ſea, that is to ſay, the eaſtern coaſts of Africa, and thoſe of Aſia as far as India. But this ſeems to be a more antient author's, cotemporary with Pliny the naturaliſt.

## ÆLIAN *(Claudius Ælianus.)*

ÆLIAN was of Præneſte, but paſſed the greateſt part of his life at Rome; for which reaſon he calls himſelf a Roman. He wrote a little work in fourteen books, intitled, *Hiſtoriæ variæ*, that is to ſay, *Miſcellaneous Hiſtories*; and another in ſeventeen books upon the Hiſtory of Animals. We have a treatiſe in Greek and Latin upon the order obſerved by the Greeks in drawing up armies, inſcribed to Adrian, and compoſed by one of the name of Ælian. All theſe works may be the ſame author's, who is believed to be the perſon whoſe eloquence Martial praiſes in one of his epigrams.

Lib. 12. Epig. 24.

## APPIAN.

APPIAN was of Alexandria, and lived in the time of Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus. He pleaded ſome time at Rome, and was afterwards comptroller of the Imperial domains.

He wrote the Roman hiſtory, not in the order of time like Livy, but making each nation ſubjected by the Romans a work apart, and relating events as they happened to each ſeparately. Accordingly his

his deſign was to write an exact hiſtory of the Romans, and of all the provinces of their empire, down to Auguſtus; and ſometimes he went alſo as low as to Trajan. Photius ſpeaks of twenty-four books of it, though, when he wrote, he had not ſeen all thoſe which Appian mentions in his preface.

We have at preſent the hiſtory of the wars of Africa, Syria, Parthia, Mithridates, Iberia or Spain, and Hannibal; ſome fragments of thoſe of Illyria; five books of the civil wars inſtead of eight mentioned by Photius, and ſome fragments of ſeveral others, extracted by Mr. Valois out of the collections of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, with extracts of the like nature from Polybius and ſeveral other hiſtorians.

Photius obſerves that this author has an extreme paſſion for the truth of hiſtory; that none teach the art of war better; and that his ſtile is ſimple and void of ſuperfluity, but lively and vigorous. In his harangues he gives his reader excellent models of conduct, either for reanimating troops when diſcouraged, or for appeaſing them when mutinous and violent. He borrows many things from Polybius, and often copies Plutarch.

## DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

Diogenes Laertius lived in the time of Antoninus, or ſoon after. Others place him in the reign of Severus and his ſucceſſors. He wrote the lives of the philoſophers in ten books, and carefully relates their opinions and apophthegms. This work is of great uſe for knowing the different ſects of the ancient philoſophers.

The ſurname of *Laertius*, uſually given him, probably implies his country, which was perhaps the fortreſs or city of Laertia in Cilicia.

We find by his writings, that, after having well ſtudied hiſtory and the maxims of the philoſophers, he embraced the ſect of the Epicureans, the fartheſt from

from truth, and the moſt contrary to virtue, of them all.

## DION CASSIUS. (*Cocceius* or *Cocceianus.*)

Dion was of Nicæa in Bithynia. He lived in the reigns of the emperors Commodus, Pertinax, Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander, who all had a very high regard for him, and confided the moſt important offices and governments
A. D. 229. of the empire to his care. Alexander nominated him conſul for the ſecond time. After this conſulſhip, he obtained permiſſion to retire, and paſs the reſt of his life in his own country, upon account of his infirmities.

Suid. Phot. He wrote the whole Roman hiſtory from the arrival of Æneas in Italy to the reign of the emperor Alexander in eight Decads, or fourſcore books.
Dio. l. 72. p. 829. He tells us himſelf, that he employed ten years in collecting materials of all that paſſed from the foundation of Rome to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in compoſing his hiſtory down to that
Id. l. 80. p. 917. of Commodus. He afterwards added to it that of the other emperors, with as much exactneſs as he could, to the death of Heliogabalus, and a ſimple abridgment of the eight firſt years of Alexander, becauſe, from having been little in Italy during that time, it had not been in his power to know ſo well how things had paſſed.

Photius obſerves that his ſtile is lofty, and adapted to the greatneſs of his ſubject: that his terms are magnificent, and that his phraſes and manner of writing have the air of antiquity: that he has taken Thucydides for his model, whom he imitates excellently in the turn of his narration and harangues, and has followed him in all things, except in being more clear. This praiſe is much in Dion's favour, but I do not know whether it does not a little exceed the bounds of truth.

Voſſius

Voſſius ſays, and Lipſius had thought the ſame before him, that this hiſtorian is unpardonable for not having known how to eſteem virtue according to its value, and for having cenſured the greateſt men of antiquity, as Cicero, Brutus, Caſſius, and Seneca, either out of malignity of mind, or corruption of manners and judgment. That he did ſo is certain; and, whatever his motives were, the thing in itſelf can never be for his honour.

He compoſed, as we have ſaid, fourſcore books of the Roman hiſtory; but only a very ſmall part of that great work is come down to us. For the firſt thirty-four books are loſt, with the greateſt part of the thirty-fifth, except ſome fragments. The twenty that follow, from the end of the thirty-fifth to the fifty-fourth, are the part that remain entire. Voſſius believes that the ſix following, which come down to the death of Claudius, are alſo perfect. But Bucherius maintains, that they are much otherwiſe; which ſeems very probable. We have only ſome fragments of the laſt twenty.

This defect is ſomething ſupplied by an abridgment of Dion from the thirty-fifth book, the time of Pompey, to the end, compoſed by Johannes Xiphilinus, patriarch of Conſtantinople in the eleventh century. This epitome is found to be ſufficiently juſt, Xiphilinus having added nothing to Dion, except in ſome very few places, where it was neceſſary, and having generally made uſe of his own words. The hiſtory of Zonarus may alſo be called an abridgment of Dion: for he follows him faithfully, and ſometimes informs us of things omitted by Xiphilinus.

## HERODIAN.

Nothing is known of the life of Herodian, except that he was of Alexandria, the ſon of a Rhetorician named Apollonius *Dyſcolos*, or the *Rigid*, and that he followed his father's profeſſion. He is much known

known by his hiſtory of the emperors in eight books from the death of M. Aurelius to thoſe of Maximus and Balbinus. He aſſures us himſelf, that his hiſtory of thoſe ſixty years is that of his own times, and what he had ſeen himſelf. He had borne different offices both in the court, and civil government of Rome, which had given him a ſhare in ſeveral of the events which he relates.

As to hiſtory, Photius judges much in his favour. For he tells us that it is perſpicuous, lofty, and agreeable; that his diction is juſt and ſober, obſerving the medium between the affected elegance of ſuch as diſdain ſimple and natural beauties, and the low and languid expreſſion of thoſe who either do not know, or deſpiſe, the delicacy and refinements of art; that it does not aim at a falſe agreeable by multiplying words or things, and omits nothing neceſſary; in a word, that he gives place to few authors for all the beauties of hiſtory. Politian's tranſlation of Herodian's work happily ſuſtains and almoſt equals the elegance of the original. The French verſion of it, which the Abbé Mongaut has given the public, riſes much upon the Latin.

## EUNAPIUS.

A.D. 363. EUNAPIUS was of Sardis in Lydia, and came to Athens at the age of ſixteen. He ſtudied eloquence under Proæreſus the Chriſtian ſophiſt, and magic under Chryſanthus, who had married his couſin. Eunapius's lives of the ſophiſts of the fourth century is extant. There is abundance of circumſtances in it relating to the hiſtory of that time. He begins with Plotinus, who appeared in the middle of the third century; and goes on to Porphyrius, Jamblichus, and his diſciples, upon whom he expatiates particularly. He alſo wrote an hiſtory of the Emperors in fourteen books, which began in the year 268, in the reign of Claudius the ſucceſſor of Gallienus, and ended at the death of Eudoxia the wife of

of Arcadius. Some fragments of this hiſtory have been preſerved in the extracts of Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus upon embaſſies, and in Suidas. We find in them, that he was exceedingly exaſperated againſt the Chriſtian emperors, and eſpecially againſt Conſtantine. The ſame ſpleen is obſerved to prevail in his lives of the ſophiſts, eſpecially againſt the monks. It is no wonder that a magician was an enemy to the Chriſtian religion.

## ZOSIMUS.

Zosimus, Count and Advocate Fiſcal, lived in the time of Theodoſius the younger. He wrote the hiſtory of the Roman emperors in ſix books. The firſt, which contains the ſucceſſion of thoſe princes from Auguſtus down to Probus, (for what relates to Diocleſian is loſt) is extremely abridged. The other five are more diffuſe, eſpecially to the time of Theodoſius the Great and his children. He goes no farther than the ſecond ſiege of Rome by Alaric. The end of the ſixth book is wanting. Photius praiſes his ſtile. He ſays that Zoſimus has almoſt only copied and abridged Eunapius's hiſtory; which perhaps occaſioned its being loſt. He is no leſs exaſperated than the other againſt the Chriſtian emperors. A. D. 415.

## PHOTIUS.

Photius, Patriarch of Conſtantinople, lived in the ninth century. He was a perſon of immenſe erudition, and of ſtill vaſt ambition, which hurried him into horrible exceſſes, and occaſioned infinite troubles in the church. But that is foreign to our preſent ſubject.

I have placed him amongſt the Greek hiſtorians, and ſhall conclude my account of them with him, not becauſe he compoſed an hiſtory in form, but becauſe, in one of his works, he has given us extracts from a great number of hiſtorians, of whom many, without him, would be almoſt entirely unknown.

Μυριόβιβλον known. This work is intitled *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*; and indeed it merits that name. Photius examines almoſt three hundred authors in it, and tells us their names, countries, times when they lived, works they compoſed, judgment to be paſſed on them in reſpect to ſtile and character; and ſometimes even gives us extracts of conſiderable length, or abridgments from them, which are to be found only in this work. From hence we may judge of how great value he is to us.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Of the Latin Hiſtorians.*

I Shall not ſay much upon the feeble beginnings, and, to uſe the expreſſion, the infancy of the Roman hiſtory. Every body knows that it conſiſted at firſt only of ſimple notes or memorandums drawn up by the * *Pontifex maximus*, who regularly ſet down every year whatever paſſed of moſt conſiderable in the ſtate, either in war or peace; and this cuſtom, eſtabliſhed very early at Rome, ſubſiſted to the time of P. Mucius the Pontifex Maximus, that is to ſay, to the year of Rome 629, or 631. The name of *the Great Annals* were given to theſe memoirs.

We may ſuppoſe, that in thoſe early times theſe records were written in a very ſimple and even groſs ſtile. The † pontiffs contented themſelves with ſetting down the principal events, the times and places wherein they happened, the names and condition of the perſons who had the greateſt ſhare in them, in a plain manner without regard to ornament.

* Erat hiſtoria nihil aliud niſi Annalium confectio: cujus rei, memoriæque publicæ retinendæ cauſa, ab initio rerum Romanarum uſque ad P. Mucium Pontificem maximum res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus—qui etiam nunc *Annales maximi* nominantur. *Cic.* l. 2, *de Orat.* n. 52.

† Sine ullis ornamentis monumenta ſolùm temporum, hominum, locorum, geſtarumque rerum reliquerunt—Non exornatores rerum, ſed tantummodo narratores fuerunt. *Ibid.* n. 54.

However

However rude and imperfect theſe annals were, they were of great importance, becauſe there were no other monuments to preſerve the memory of all that paſſed at Rome; and it was a * great loſs, when moſt of them were deſtroyed at the burning of the city by the Gauls.

Some years after hiſtory began to quit this groſs antique garb, and to appear in public with more decency. The poets were the firſt who conceived the deſign of improving and adorning it. NÆVIUS compoſed a poem upon the firſt Punic war, and ENNIUS wrote the annals of Rome in heroic verſe.

Hiſtory at length aſſumed a regular form, and appeared in proſe. Q. FABIUS PICTOR is the moſt antient of the Latin hiſtorians: he lived in the time of the ſecond Punic war. L. CINCIUS Alimentus was his cotemporary. Livy cites them both with praiſe. It is believed that they wrote their hiſtories firſt in Greek, and then in Latin. Cincius certainly wrote the hiſtory of Gorgias the celebrated rhetorician in the latter language. Liv. l. 21.

CATO the Cenſor *(M. Portius Cato)* has a juſter title than them to the name of Latin hiſtorian: for it is certain that he wrote his hiſtory in that tongue. It conſiſted of ſeven books, and was intitled *Origines*, becauſe in the ſecond and third books he related the origin of all the cities of Italy. We find that Cicero ſet a great value on this hiſtory. *Jam vero Origines ejus (Catonis) quem florem, aut quod lumen eloquentiæ non habent?* But upon Brutus's judging this praiſe exceſſive, he put a reſtriction to it by adding, That nothing was wanting to the writings of Cato, and the ſtrokes of his pencil, but a certain lively glow of colours, not diſcovered in his time: *Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis niſi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuiſſe.* Cornel. Nepos. in fragm. In Brut. n. 66. Ibid. n.

* Si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliiſque publicis privatiſque erant monumentis, incenſa urbe pleraque interierunt. *Liv.* l. 6. n. 1.

L. Piso Frugi, ſurnamed Calpurnius, is alſo cited amongſt thoſe antient hiſtorians. He was tribune of the people in the conſulſhip of Cenſorinus and Manlius, in the 605th year of Rome. He was alſo ſeveral times conſul. He was a civilian, orator, and hiſtorian; and had compoſed harangues, which were no longer in being in Cicero's time, with annals, of a ſtile mean enough in that orator's opinion. Pliny ſpeaks more advantageouſly of them.

The * true character of all theſe writers was great ſimplicity. They did not yet know what delicacy, beauty, and ornament of ſpeech were. They were ſatisfied with making their readers underſtand them, and confined themſelves to a cloſe and ſuccinct ſtile.

I proceed now to the hiſtorians better known, and whoſe writings are come down to us.

## SALLUST.

It is not without reaſon that Salluſt has been called the firſt of the Roman hiſtorians:

*Criſpus Romana primus in hiſtoria.* Martial.

and that he has been believed equal to Thucydides, ſo generally eſteemed amongſt the Greek hiſtorians:

Quintil. *Nec opponere Thucydidi Salluſtium verear.* But without determining their ranks here, which would not become me to do, it ſuffices to conſider Salluſt as one of the moſt excellent hiſtorians of antiquity. The reader may find very ſolid reflections upon his character in the preface to the *French* tranſlation of this hiſtorian.

The prevailing quality of his writings, and that which characteriſes Salluſt in a more peculiar and ſingular manner, is the brevity of his ſtile, which Quintilian calls *Immortalem Salluſtii velocitatem.* Sca-

* Qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus fuit; tales noſter Cato, & Pictor, & Piſo: qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornatur oratio; (modò enim huc iſta ſunt importata) &. dum intelligatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant eſſe brevitatem. *Lib. 2. de Orat.* n. 53.

liger

liger is the only one who denies him this praiſe: but, as I have already obſerved, he is almoſt always odd and ſingular in his judgments.

This brevity of Salluſt proceeds from the lively vigour of his genius. He thinks ſtrongly and nobly, and writes as he thinks. His ſtile may be compared to thoſe rivers, which, whilſt they flow within narrower banks than others, are deeper, and carry a greater burden.

The language in which he wrote was extremely adapted to cloſe diction, and thereby favoured him in following the bent of his genius. It has, as well as the Greek, the advantage of being equally ſuſceptible of the two oppoſite extremes. In Cicero it gives us a numerous, flowing, periodic ſtyle: in Salluſt, a ſhort, broken, precipitate one. The latter often ſuppreſſes words, and leaves the care of ſupplying them to his reader. He throws many terms and phraſes together, without any conjunctions, which gives a kind of impetuoſity to his diſcourſe. He makes no ſcruple to uſe old words in his hiſtory, ſo they are but ſhorter, or have more energy than the terms in faſhion; a liberty for which he was * reproached in his life-time, as the following antient couplet ſhews:

*Et verba antiqui multùm furate Catonis*
*Criſpe, Jugurthinæ conditor hiſtoriæ.*

But he eſpecially makes great uſe of metaphors, and does not chuſe the moſt modeſt and leaſt glowing, as the maſters of the art declare neceſſary; but the moſt conciſe, the ſtrongeſt, the moſt lively, and the moſt bold.

By all theſe methods, and others, which I omit, Salluſt has ſucceeded in framing himſelf an entirely particular ſtile, and one that ſuits him only. He quits the common road, but without going out of

* Salluſtii novandi ſtudium multa cum invidia fuit. *Aul. Gell.* c. 15.

his way, and by paths that only ſhorten it. He ſeems not to think like other men, and yet good ſenſe is the ſource of all his thoughts. His ideas are natural and reaſonable: but, all natural and reaſonable as they are, they have the advantage of being new, *from being peculiarly curious and exquiſite.*

We know not which to admire moſt in this excellent author, his deſcriptions, characters, or harangues: for he ſucceeds alike in them all; and we cannot diſcern upon what foundation Seneca the elder, or rather Caſſius Severus, whoſe opinion he repeats, could ſay, that the harangues of Salluſt are ſuffered only upon account of his hiſtory: *in honorem Hiſtoriarum leguntur.* Nothing can be added to their force, ſpirit, and eloquence. It is highly probable that the paſſage in queſtion is not applied to the harangues inſerted by Salluſt in his hiſtory, but to thoſe he ſpoke in the ſenate, or to ſome pleadings of his. When we read, in the hiſtory of the Jugurthine war, the account of a fort ſurpriſed by a Ligurian ſoldier of Marius's army, we ſeem to ſee him climb up and down along the ſteep rocks, and even to climb up and down along with him, the deſcription is ſo lively and animated.

We find five or ſix characters in Salluſt, which are ſo many maſter-pieces; and I do not know whether there be any thing in the whole extent of literature of a beauty that approaches nearer the idea of perfection. I ſhall repeat two of them in this place, from which the reader may judge of the reſt.

### Character of CATILINE.

*L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi & animi & corporis, ſed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adoleſcentia bella inteſtina, cædes, rapinæ, diſcordia civilis grata fuere, ibique juventutem ſuam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ, ſupra quàm cuiquam credibile eſt. Animus audax, ſubdolus, varius, cujuſlibet rei ſimulator ac diſſimulator: alieni appetens, ſui pro-*

*profuſus; ardens in cupiditatibus. Satis eloquentiæ, ſapientiæ parum. Veſtus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta ſemper cupiebat.*

" L. Catilina was of noble birth, and of great " ſtrength both of body and mind, but of a diſ- " poſition highly corrupt and depraved. From his " earlieſt years, inteſtine wars, murders, rapine, " and civil diſcord were his delight, and the uſual " exerciſes of his youth. He bore hunger, cold, " watching and fatigues, with a patience not cre- " dible of any body. He was bold, deceitful, in- " conſtant, and capable of aſſuming and diſguiſing " any thing: greedy of another's, profuſe of his " own, and violent in all his appetites. He had " eloquence enough, but little wiſdom. His vaſt " ſpirit, his boundleſs ambition, perpetually affect- " ed and coveted things of an exceſſive, incredible, " too lofty nature.

## Character of SEMPRONIA.

*In his erat Sempronia, quæ multa ſæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiſerat. Hæc mulier genere atque forma, præterea viro atque liberis ſatis fortunata fuit: Literis Græcis & Latinis docta: pſallere, ſaltare elegantiùs, quàm neceſſe eſt probæ: multa alia, quæ inſtrumenta luxuriæ ſunt, ſed ei cariora ſemper omnia, quam decus atque pudicitia fuit. Pecuniæ an famæ minùs parceret, haud facilè diſcerneres—Ingenium ejus haud abſurdum: poſſe verſus facere, jocum movere, ſermone uti vel modeſto, vel molli, vel procaci. Prorſus multæ facetiæ, multuſque lepos inerat.*

" Of this number was Sempronia, who had in " many things frequently inſtanced a maſculine " boldneſs of genius for vice. This woman was " ſufficiently happy in her perſon and birth, as well " as in her huſband and children: She was well " read in the Greek and Roman learning: could " ſing and dance with more elegance than was ne- " ceſſary for a matron of virtue; and had beſides

" many of thoſe qualities, that miniſter to luxury, " and render vice amiable, on which ſhe ever ſet an " higher value than upon the decency and chaſtity " of her ſex. It was not eaſy to ſay whether ſhe " was leſs frugal of her money or of her reputa- " tion. Her wit was by no means diſagreeable: ſhe " could make verſes, jeſt agreeably, and converſe " either with modeſty and tenderneſs, or tartneſs " and freedom; but in whatever ſhe ſaid there was " always abundance of ſpirit and humour."

There are abundance of admirable paſſages in Salluſt, eſpecially when he compares the antient manners of the commonwealth with thoſe of his own times. When we hear him ſpeak ſtrongly, as is uſual enough with him, againſt luxury, debauch, and the other vices of his age, one would take him for a man of the ſtricteſt life and greateſt probity in the world. But we muſt not conclude ſo from ſo plauſible an appearance. His conduct was ſo immoral, that it occaſioned his being expelled the ſenate by the cenſors.

Beſides the wars of Catiline and Jugurtha, Salluſt wrote a general hiſtory of the events that happened during a certain number of years, of which amongſt other fragments there are ſeveral perfectly fine diſcourſes.

## LIVY.

The Latin preface to the new edition of Livy, of which Mr. Crevier profeſſor of rhetoric in the college of Beauvais has lately publiſhed two volumes, would ſupply me with the little I intend to ſay here of this excellent hiſtorian. If I was leſs Mr. Crevier's friend, who inſiſts abſolutely upon my declaring him my pupil, which I think highly for my honour, I ſhould expatiate upon the uſefulneſs and merit of his work. The preface of it alone is ſufficient to inform the reader what value he ought to ſet upon it.

The

The more earneſtly we deſire to know an author famous for his writings, the more we regret, that little or nothing more than his name is come down to us. Livy is one of thoſe authors who have rendered their names immortal, but whoſe lives and actions are little known. He was born at Padua, in the conſulſhip of Piſo and Gabinius, fifty-eight years before the Chriſtian Æra. He had a ſon, to whom he wrote a letter upon education and the ſtudies proper for youth, which Quintilian mentions in more than one place, and of which we ought very much to regret the loſs. It is in this letter, or rather ſhort treatiſe, that he ſays, in reſpect to the authors proper to be recommended to the reading of youth, that they ought firſt to ſtudy Demoſthenes and Cicero, and next ſuch as reſemble thoſe excellent orators moſt: *Legendos Demoſthenem atque Ciceronem, tum ita ut quiſque eſſet Demoſtheni & Ciceroni ſimillimus.* Quintil. l. 10. c. 1. He ſpeaks, in the ſame letter, of a * rhetorician who diſapproved the compoſitions of his pupils, when they were perſpicuous and intelligible, and made them correct them, as he called it, by throwing obſcurity into them. When they had retouched them in this manner, he would ſay, *Ay, this now is much better. I underſtand nothing of it myſelf.* Could one believe ſo ridiculous an extravagance poſſible? Livy alſo compoſed ſome philoſophical works and dialogues, in which philoſophy had a part. Senec. Epiſt. 100.

But his great work was the Roman hiſtory in an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, from the foundation of Rome to the death and funeral of Druſus, which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and in conſequence included that number of years. We find, from ſome dates in his hiſtory, that he employed the whole time be-

* Apud Titum Livium invenio fuiſſe præceptorem aliquem, qui diſcipulos obſcurare quæ dicerent juberet, Græco verbo utens, σκότισον. Unde illa ſcilicet egregia laudatio: *Tanto melior; ne ego quidem intellexi.* Quintil. l. 8. c. 2.

tween the battle of Actium and the death of Druſus in compoſing it, that is to ſay, about one and twenty years. But he publiſhed it from time to time in parts; and this was what acquired him ſo great a reputation at Rome, and the honourable viſit of a ſtranger from the remoteſt part of Spain, who took ſo long a journey only for the ſake of ſeeing him. The capital of the world had enough to engage and ſatisfy the eyes of a curious perſon in the magnificence of its buildings, and the multitude of its paintings, ſtatues, and antient monuments. But this ſtranger found nothing ſo rare and precious in Rome as Livy. After having enjoyed his converſation at pleaſure, and entertained himſelf agreeably with reading his hiſtory, he returned with joy and content to his own country. And this is knowing the value of men.

Plin. Epiſt. 3. l. 2.

Nothing more is known of what regards Livy perſonally, He paſſed a great part of his life at Rome, eſteemed and honoured by the Great as he deſerved. He died in his country at the age of threeſcore and ſixteen, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius. The people of Padua have honoured his memory in all times, and pretend to have actually preſerved amongſt them ſome remains of his body, and to have made a preſent in the year 1451 of one of his arms to Alphonſo V. king of Arragon, at leaſt the inſcription ſays ſo.

It were much more to be wiſhed, that they had preſerved his hiſtory. Only thirty-five books of it are come down to us, which is not the fourth part of the work, and even ſome of them imperfect. What a loſs is this! The Learned have flattered themſelves from time to time with ſome faint hopes of recovering the reſt, which ſeem ſolely founded in their great deſire of them.

*Johannes Freinſhemius* has endeavoured to conſole the public for this loſs by his *Supplements*, and has ſucceeded in it as far as was poſſible. FREINSHEMIUS,

SHEMIUS, born at Ulm in Suabia in 1608, ſtudied at Straſburgh with great ſucceſs. In 1642 he was invited into Sweden, where he filled ſeveral conſiderable employments of literature. Upon his return into his country, he was made honorary profeſſor in the univerſity eſtabliſhed by the elector Palatine at Heidelburgh, where he died in 1660. The commonwealth of letters have infinite obligations to him for having rendered Livy the ſame ſervice as he had before done Quintius Curtius, by filling up all we have loſt of that great writer of the Roman hiſtory with an hundred and five books of Supplements. Mr. Doujat alſo filled up the deficient places in the laſt books which remain of Livy, but with very different ſucceſs. Mr. Crevier has reviſed and retouched Freinſhemius's Supplements in ſeveral places, and wrought thoſe of Doujat entirely anew. By theſe means we have a continued and complete body of the Roman hiſtory; I mean that of the commonwealth.

It is doubted whether Livy himſelf divided his hiſtory from ten to ten books, that is to ſay, into decads. However this may be, that diviſion ſeems commodious enough.

In reſpect to the epitome's in the front of each book, the learned do not believe them either done by Livy or Florus. Whoever the author was, they have their uſe, as they ſerve to ſhew of what the books we have loſt treated.

Let us now examine the work in itſelf. There reigns in it, conſidered in all its parts, an eloquence perfect, and perfect in every kind. In the narrations, deſcriptions, ſpeeches, the ſtile, though varied to infinity, ſuſtains itſelf equally every-where: ſimple without meanneſs, elegant and florid without affectation, great and ſublime without tumour, flowing or conciſe, and full of ſweetneſs or force, according to the exigency of the matter; but always clear

clear and intelligible, which is not the meaneſt praiſe of hiſtory.

Pollio*, who was of a refined taſte that it was difficult to pleaſe, pretended he diſcovered *Patavinity* in the ſtile of Livy: that is to ſay, ſome words or turns of phraſe which ſavoured of the country of Padua. A man born there might retain, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, ſome ſmatch of the ſoil, and might not have all the refinement and delicacy of the Roman *urbanity*, which was not ſo eaſily communicated to ſtrangers, as the freedom of the city. But this is what we can now neither perceive nor underſtand.

This reproach of Patavinity has not hindered † Quintilian from equalling Livy with Herodotus, which is giving him great praiſe. He makes us obſerve the ſweet and flowing ſtile of his narrations, and the ſupreme eloquence of his harangues, wherein the characters of the perſons he introduces ſpeaking, are ſuſtained with all poſſible exactneſs, and the paſſions, eſpecially the ſoft and tender, are treated with wonderful art. All however that Livy could do was to attain, by qualities entirely different, to the immortal reputation which Salluſt acquired by his inimitable brevity: for theſe two hiſtorians have with reaſon been ſaid rather to be equal, than like each other; *pares magis, quam ſimiles*.

It is not only by his eloquence, and the beauty and ſpirit of his narration, that Livy acquired the reputation he has enjoyed for ſo many ages. He

† In Tito Livio miræ facundiæ viro putat ineſſe Pollio Aſinius quandam Patavinitatem. Quare, ſi fieri poteſt, & verba omnia, & vox, hujus alumnum urbis oleant: ut oratio Romana planè videatur; non civitate donata. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Nec indignetur ſibi Herodotus æquari Titum Livium, cum in narrando miræ jucunditatis clariſſimique candoris, tum in concionibus ſupra quam dici poteſt eloquentem: ita dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum perſonis accommodata. Sed affectus quidem, præcipuè eos qui ſunt dulciores, ut parciſſime dicam, nemo hiſtoricorum commendavit magis. Ideoque immortalem illam Salluſtii velocitatem diverſis virtutibus conſecutus eſt. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

recom-

recommended himſelf no leſs by his fidelity, a virtue ſo neceſſary and deſirable in an hiſtorian. Neither the fear of diſpleaſing the powerful of his times, nor the deſire of making his court to them, prevented him from telling the truth. He ſpoke in his hiſtory with praiſe of the greateſt enemies of the houſe of the Cæſars, as of Pompey, Brutus, Caſſius and others; and Auguſtus took no offence at it: ſo that we know not which moſt to admire, the moderation of the prince, or the generous freedom of the hiſtorian. In the thirty-five books that remain of Livy, he mentions Auguſtus only twice, and that too with a reſerve and ſobriety of praiſe, which reproaches thoſe flattering, ſelf-intereſted writers, who, without diſcretion or meaſure, are ſo lavish of an incenſe to office and dignity, due only to merit and virtue.

Tacit. Annal. l. 4. c. 24.

Lib. 1. n. 19, & l. 4. n. 20.

If any defect may be imputed to Livy, it is his over fondneſs for his country! a rock he has not always taken care enough to avoid. Whilſt he perpetually admires the greatneſs of the Romans, he not only exaggerates their exploits, ſucceſſes, and virtues; but diſguiſes and diminiſhes their vices, and the faults they commit.

Seneca the Elder reproaches Livy with having expreſſed a mean jealouſy of Salluſt, in accuſing him of ſtealing a ſentence from Thucydides, and of having maimed it by tranſlating it ill. What probability is there that Livy, who copied whole books from Polybius, ſhould make it a crime in Salluſt to copy a ſingle ſentence, that is to ſay a line, or part of one? Beſides which it is perfectly well rendered. Δεινὰ γὰρ αἱ εὐπραξίαι συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ ἐκάστων ἁμαρτήματα. *Res ſecundæ mirè ſunt vitiis obtentui.* And how ſhall we reconcile this accuſation with what the ſame Seneca ſays in another place: That Livy judged with the utmoſt equity and candor of the works of the learned? *Ut eſt natura candidiſſimus omnium*

Lib. 4. Controv. 4.

Id ſuaſor. 7. 6.

*nium magnorum ingeniorum æſtimator T. Livius.* I believe we may rely upon this laſt teſtimony.

There is another complaint againſt him of a much more ſerious and important kind. He is taxed with ingratitude, and want of fidelity, either in not having named Polybius, or for having done it with too much indifference, in places where he copied him word for word. I ſhould be ſorry if this reproach could be made with good foundation: for it affects the qualities of the heart, of which the honeſt man ought to be very jealous. But is it not probable, that he did ſpeak of Polybius with praiſe in the other parts of his hiſtory not come down to us, that he did him all the juſtice due to his merit, and declared beforehand, that he made it his glory, and thought it his duty, to copy him word for word in many places, and that he ſhould often do ſo without citing him, to avoid repeating the ſame thing too often? My own intereſt is a little concerned here: for in this point I have ſome occaſion for the reader's indulgence.

This kind of blots, obſerved in Livy, have not however impaired his glory. Poſterity on account of them has not admired his work the leſs, not only as a maſter-piece of eloquence, but as an hiſtory, which every-where inculcates the love of juſtice and virtue; wherein we find, mingled with his narration, the ſoundeſt maxims for the conduct of life, with a ſingular attachment and reſpect, that ſhines out every-where, for the religion eſtabliſhed at Rome when he wrote; (unfortunately for him it was falſe, but he knew no other;) in fine, a generous boldneſs and pious zeal in condemning with force the impious ſentiments of the unbelievers of his age. *Nondum hæc*, ſays he in a paſſage of *Lib.* 3. *n.* 20. *quæ nunc tenet ſeculum, negligentia deum venerat: nec interpretando ſibi quiſque jusjurandum & leges aptas faciebat, ſed ſuos potiùs mores ad ea accommodabat.* "The contempt of the gods, ſo common in

"our

" our age, was not yet known. Oaths and the " laws were the rules to which people conformed " their conduct, and the art of adapting them to " their own conveniency by illuſive interpretations " was then unknown."

From what I have now ſaid, it ſeems reaſonable to juſtify Livy in reſpect to the pretended ſuperſtition, with which he affects to relate ſuch a number of miracles and prodigies equally ridiculous and incredible. The faith of hiſtory required, that he ſhould not ſuppreſs things ſaid to have happened before him, which he found in his own collections and the annals, and which made a part of the religion commonly received in thoſe times, though perhaps he did not believe them himſelf. And he * explains himſelf on this head often and clearly enough, attributing moſt of the pretended prodigies, which made ſo much noiſe, to an ignorant and credulous ſuperſtition.

## CÆSAR.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR diſtinguiſhed himſelf no leſs by his wit than his valour. He applied firſt to the bar, where he made a great figure. † Only the deſire of attaining the firſt rank in the commonwealth, in reſpect to power, prevented him from diſputing alſo the firſt rank at the bar in reſpect to eloquence. His peculiar character was force and vehemence. The ſame fire which he made appear in battle, is diſcernible in his writings. To this vigour of ſtile he added great purity and elegance

* Romæ, aut circa urbem, multa ea hieme prodigia facta, aut (quod evenire ſolet motis ſemel in religionem animis) multa nunciata & temerè credita ſunt. *Lib.* 21. *n.* 62.

Cumis (adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inſerit deos) mures in æde Jovis aurum roſiſſe nunciatum eſt. *Lib.* 27. *n.* 23.

† C. vero Cæſar, ſi foro tantum vacaſſet, non alius ex noſtris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis eſt, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixiſſe, quo bellavit, appareat. Exornat tamen hæc omnia mira ſermonis, cujus proprie ſtudioſus fuit, elegantia. *Quintil. l.* 10. *c.* 1.

of

of language, which he had made his peculiar ſtudy, and upon which he piqued himſelf more than any other Roman.

Aul. Gell. l. 1. c. 10. He compoſed many works, amongſt others, two books upon the analogy of the Latin tongue. Who could believe, that ſo great a warrior as Cæſar ſhould employ himſelf ſeriouſly in compoſing tracts upon Grammar? How different are our manners and inclinations from thoſe of that age! It is in one of theſe books upon analogy, that he recommended avoiding new and unuſual expreſſions, as rocks: *tanquam ſcopulum, ſic fugias inſolens verbum.*

There were ſeveral pleadings of his alſo extant. * Beſides the elegance of his Latinity, which is neceſſary, ſays Atticus, or rather Cicero, not only to every orator, but every Roman citizen of condition, he adds all the ornaments of art, but principally a wonderful talent in painting objects, and placing things in all their light.

Only two of Cæſar's works remain; his ſeven books of the war with the Gauls, and his three of the civil war. They are, properly ſpeaking, only memoirs, and he made them public only as ſuch: *Commentarii.* He † wrote them haſtily, and even in the midſt of his expeditions: ſolely with the view of leaving materials to writers, for compoſing an hiſtory. The perſpicuity and elegance of ſtile, natural to him, are certainly evident in them: but he has neglected all the ſhining ornaments a genius ſo happy as his could have diffuſed throughout a work of that nature. ‡ All ſimple and negligent as it

* Cum, inquit Atticus, ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiamſi orator non ſis, & ſis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen neceſſaria eſt) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi: tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252.

† Cæteri quàm bene atque emendatè, nos etiam quàm facilè atque celeriter eos confecerit, ſcimus. *Hirt. Præf.* l. 8. *de Bell. Gall.*

‡ Conſtat inter omnes nihil tam operosè ab aliis eſſe perfectum, quod non horum elegantia Commentariorum ſuperetur. *Hirt.* ibid.

may

may appear, ſays Hirtius, it is however generally agreed, that no other work, however laboured and poliſhed, can come up to the beauty of Cæſar's Commentaries. His deſign was only to ſupply thoſe with materials who might undertake to compoſe an hiſtory from them in form. " In which, " ſays Cicero, he may have pleaſed writers of " mean parts, who will not fear diſfiguring his " natural graces with trivial ornaments: but every " man of ſenſe will be far from touching or alter- " ing them in any manner whatſoever. For no- " thing in hiſtory gives ſo much pleaſure as ſo clear " and elegant a brevity of ſtile." *Dum voluit alios habere parata unde ſumerent, qui vellent ſcribere hiſtoriam, ineptis fortaſſe gratum fecit, qui volent illa calamiſtris inurere; ſanos quidem homines à ſcribendo deterruit. Nihil enim eſt in Hiſtoria pura & illuſtri brevitate dulcius.* Hirtius has the ſame thought, in reſpect to writers who ſhould conceive thoughts of compoſing an hiſtory from Cæſar's Commentaries. " He certainly ſupplies them with the means, ſays " he; but if they are wiſe, thoſe very means ought " for ever to prevent their having ſuch a thought." *Adeo probantur omnium judicio, ut præripta non præbita facultas ſcriptoribus videatur.* Mr. Ablancourt's tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries is very much eſteemed. It might be improved, if ſome able hand would retouch it in ſome places.

Cæſar had undoubtedly great wit and the moſt happy natural parts: * but he had alſo taken pains to cultivate them by aſſiduous ſtudy, and to inrich them with all that was moſt curious and exquiſite in literature; by which means he arrived at excelling almoſt all the moſt eloquent orators of Rome in purity of language and delicacy of ſtile. I

* Audio (inquit Atticus) Cæſarem omnium ferè oratorum Latinè loqui elegantiſſimè——Et ut eſſet perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis literis, & iis quidem reconditis & exquiſitis, ſummoque ſtudio & diligentia eſt conſecutus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 252, 253.

purpoſely

purpoſely make this remark after Cicero, to excite our young nobility to follow ſo good an example, in uniting with the praiſe of valour that of fine ſenſe and polite knowledge. I have ſeen young Engliſhmen of diſtinction, who have done me the honour of a viſit, that were well read in the learning of the Greeks and Romans, and no leſs verſed in hiſtory. In theſe points jealouſy, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, emulation, is laudable between nation and nation. The French youth are inferior to none in vivacity and ſolidity of genius. In my opinion, they ought to pique themſelves upon not giving place in any thing to ſtrangers, and in not abandoning to them the glory of erudition and fine taſte.

This is what Cæſar ſeems to exhort them. His Commentaries ought always to be in their hands. It is the ſoldier's book. The greateſt generals in all times have made him their maſter. The reading of theſe memoirs have been always their employment and delight. They find in them the rules of the art military, whether in ſieges or battles, reduced to practice. They may learn alſo there, the manner of compoſing memoirs, which is no vulgar talent. It were to be wiſhed, that all generals would regularly ſet down all the operations of the campaigns in which they command. What an aſſiſtance would that be to hiſtorians, and what a light to poſterity! Is there any thing more valuable than the memoirs of the Marſhal Turenne, printed in the ſecond volume of his life; or than thoſe of James II. king of England, then duke of York?

Hirtius finiſhed what Cæſar could not. The eighth book of the war with the Gauls is his, as well as thoſe of the war of Alexandria, and that of Africa. It is doubted whether he is the author of the book which treats of the war in Spain.

Mr. Ablancourt's tranſlation of Cæſar, as well as of Tacitus, is very good in many things, but wants retouching in many places.

PATER-

## PATERCULUS.

*Caius*, or *Publius*, or *Marcus* VELLEIUS PATERCULUS flouriſhed in the reign of Tiberius. There is great reaſon to believe that he was born in the 735th year of Rome. His anceſtors were illuſtrious by their merit and offices. He was a tribune in the army, when Caius Cæſar, the grandſon of Auguſtus, had an interview with the king of Parthia in an iſland of the Euphrates. He had a command in the cavalry under Tiberius, and attended that prince nine years ſucceſſively in all his expeditions, who rewarded him honourably. He was raiſed to the prætorſhip the ſame year Auguſtus died. A.D. 15. Vell. Pat. l. 20. c. 101. Ib. c. 104. Ib. c. 124.

The time when he began to write his hiſtory is not known, nor what it contained. The beginning of it is loſt. What is come down to us of it is a fragment of the antient Greek hiſtory with that of the Romans, from the defeat of Perſeus to the ſixteenth year of Tiberius. He addreſſes it to M. Vincius, who was conſul at that time, and promiſed one of greater extent. His travels into different regions might have furniſhed him with very agreeable and curious facts.

His ſtile is highly worthy of the age in which he lived, which was ſtill that of fine taſte and pure language. He excels principally in the characters of men, ſome of which I ſhall cite at the end of this article.

His narration is judged to be faithful and ſincere down to the time of the Cæſars, and in ſuch facts as do not concern them. For, from thenceforth, the deſire of flattering Tiberius makes him either omit, diſguiſe, or alter the truth in various inſtances. He accuſes Germanicus of cowardice, or rather of a too ſoft complacency for the ſeditious, whilſt he gives many others exceſſive praiſes: *Quo quidem tempore—pleraque * ignavè Germanicus.* Lib. 2. c. 125.

* *A learned commentator* (Boëclerus) *believes this paſſage corrupt, and that* gnavè *ought to be read. But to correct a text in ſuch a manner, contrary to the faith of manuſcripts, is only to gueſs.*

He is juſtly reproached with having given Tiberius exceſſive praiſes. His unfair evaſions of offending that emperor appear, as I have already ſaid, in the care he takes to run ſlightly over the glorious actions of Germanicus, to ſuppreſs moſt of them, and to attack the fame of Agrippina, and other perſons hated by Tiberius.

But he is ſtill more unpardonable, for loading Sejanus with praiſes who occaſioned ſo many misfortunes to the empire, and for having repreſented him as one of the moſt virtuous perſonages the Roman commonwealth had ever produced: *Sejanus, vir antiquiſſimi moris, & priſcam gravitatem humanitate temperans.* Lib. 2. c. 116.

This is nothing to the panegyric he beſtows upon him in the ſequel: "He previouſly laid down by "many examples the neceſſity princes were under "of aſſiſtance in their government, and of aſſociating coadjutors to divide with them the weight "of public affairs." *Rarò eminentes viri non magnis adjutoribus ad gubernandam fortunam ſuam uſi ſunt——Etenim magna negotia magnis adjutoribus egent.* Lib. 2. c. 127, 128. Who doubts it? But the queſtion is to make a good choice. He proceeds then to Sejanus, and after having exalted the ſplendor of his birth, he repreſents him "as a man, who knows "how to temper the ſeverity of power with an "air of ſweetneſs, and the chearful ſerenity of the "antients; who tranſacts the moſt weighty affairs "with all the eaſe of leiſure; who aſſumes nothing "to himſelf, and thereby attains every thing; who "always is leſs in his own opinion than in that of "the public; whoſe aſpect and behaviour appear "calm and tranquil, whilſt the cares of the ſtate "afford him no reſt. In which judgment of his "merits, the court and the city, the prince and "the people, contend with each other." *Virum ſeveritatis lætiſſimæ, hilaritatis priſcæ; actu otioſis ſimillimum; nihil ſibi vendicantem, eoque aſſequentem omnia;*

*omnia; ſemper infra aliorum æſtimationes ſe metientem; vultu vitaque tranquillum, animo exſomnem. In hujus virtutum æſtimationem jampridem judicia civitatis cum judiciis principis certant.* How great was his love of the public good; if we may believe his hiſtorian! What application to buſineſs! What zeal for the intereſts of the prince and ſtate! How amiable his character under the oppreſſive weight of the public buſineſs! What moderation, and in a word, what an aſſemblage of the greateſt virtues, atteſted by the unanimous voices of the world!

In order to know what we are to think of them; let us conſider a ſecond picture of the ſame Sejanus drawn by another maſter, who did not receive hire from him, and was never ſuſpected of flattery. This was Tacitus, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak: *Sejanus Tiberium variis artibus devinxit adeo, ut obſcurum adversùs alios, ſibi uni incautum intectumque efficeret: non tam ſolertia, (quippe iiſdem artibus victus eſt) quàm deûm ira in rem Romanam; cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque. Corpus illi laborum tolerans; animus audax, ſui obtegens; in alios criminator: juxtà adulatio & ſuperbia; palam compoſitus pudor, intus ſumma apiſcendi libido, ejuſque cauſa modò largitio & luxus, ſæpe induſtria ac vigilantia, haud minùs noxiæ quoties parando regno fingantur.* Tacit. An. l. 4. c. 1.

"Sejanus by various arts gained the aſcendant of "Tiberius ſo far, that though that prince was "gloomy and impenetrable to every body elſe, he "diſguiſed nothing, and kept no ſecret from him; "which is not ſo much to be aſcribed to the craft "and addreſs of that miniſter, (for he fell by the "ſame arts of cunning and deceit himſelf) as to "the anger of the gods againſt the Roman em-"pire, to which his power and fall were equally "pernicious. He had ſtrength of body to ſup-"port great fatigues: the character of his mind "was preſumption, diſguiſe, and malignity in ca-"lumniating others. He was at the ſame time a

" flatterer to the loweſt degree of meanneſs, and " haughty to exceſs: his outſide wore the appear- " ance of great modeſty and reſerve; within the " luſt of gain and ambition wholly engroſſed him. " His means for the attainment of his ends were " luxury and corruption, and ſometimes vigilance " and application, no leſs dangerous, when aſſumed " for uſurping empire."

To ſay every thing in a word, Sejanus, ſo much extolled by Paterculus, was the ſcourge of the divine wrath againſt the Roman empire: *deûm irâ in rem Romanam.* Perſons in high ſtations, who have the diſpenſation of graces and advantages, may judge from hence of the value they ought to ſet upon the praiſes laviſhed upon them ſo immoderately, and often with ſo little ſhame.

I have ſaid before that Paterculus excelled particularly in the characters of men. Some of them are ſhort, which are not the leaſt beautiful; and many of greater extent. I ſhall repeat here ſome examples of both.

### MARIUS.

Lib. 2. c. 9. *Hirtus atque horridus, vitaque ſanctus; quantum bello optimus, tantum pace peſſimus; immodicus gloriæ, inſatiabilis, impotens, ſemperque inquietus.* " Marius " had ſomething ſavage and horrid in his nature: " his manners were auſtere, but irreproveable: ex- " cellent in war, deteſtable in peace; greedy, or " rather inſatiable of glory; violent, and incapa- " ble of reſt."

### SYLLA.

Lib. 2. c. 25. *Adeo Sylla diſſimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut, dum vincit, juſtiſſimo lenior; poſt victoriam, audito fuerit crudelior.* " Nothing was more different than Sylla " at war, and Sylla victorious. In the field, he " was milder than the juſteſt; after the victory, " more cruel than the moſt barbarous."

MITHRI-

## MITHRIDATES.

*Mithridates, Ponticus rex: vir neque ſilendus, neque dicendus, ſine cura. Bello acerrimus, virtute eximius; aliquando fortuna, ſemper animo maximus: conſiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Annibal.* Mithridates, "king of Pontus, of whom it is difficult either to "ſpeak or to be ſilent. Moſt expert in war, of "extraordinary valour; ſometimes very great by "fortune, always by magnanimity: in counſels a "general, in execution a ſoldier, in hatred to the "Romans an Hannibal." Lib. 2. c. 18.

## MÆCENAS.

*C. Mæcenas, equeſtri ſed ſplendido genere natus: vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, ſanè exſomnis, providens, atque agendi ſciens; ſimul verò aliquid ex negotio remitti poſſet, otio ac mollitiis penè ultra feminam fluens.* "Mæcenas deſcended from an Equeſtrian, but il-"luſtrious and antient family. Where vigilance "was neceſſary, he was able, provident, and active, "without allowing himſelf reſt. But as ſoon as affairs "would admit of relaxation, he gave himſelf up "to the charms of eaſe and voluptuouſneſs with "almoſt more than female fondneſs." Lib. 2. c. 88.

## SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.

*P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paterniſque L. Pauli virtutibus ſimillimus, omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac ſtudiorum eminentiſſimus ſeculi ſui: qui nihil in vita niſi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac ſenſit—Tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrinæ auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſecum habuerit. Neque enim quiſquam hoc Scipione elegantius intervalla negotiorum otio diſpunxit: ſemperque aut belli aut pacis ſerviit artibus; ſemper inter arma ac ſtudia verſatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum diſciplinis exercuit.* "P. Scipio Æmilianus, who Lib. 1. c. 12. Ib. c. 13.

" perfectly reſembled Scipio Africanus his grand-
" father, and Paulus Æmilius his father, in their
" virtues, was the moſt eminent perſon of his age
" for all the talents, natural and acquired, that
" could adorn peace or war; a man, who never
" during his life ever did, ſaid, or thought any
" thing but what deſerved praiſe. He was ſo
" great an admirer of polite learning and ſcience
" in general, in which himſelf excelled, that he al-
" ways had with him, as well at home as in the
" field, Polybius and Panætius, two of the moſt
" illuſtrious learned men of his time. No man
" knew how to apply the intervals of leiſure from
" buſineſs with more elegance and taſte than this
" Scipio: and, as the arts of war or peace were his
" continual employments, between arms and books,
" he inceſſantly exerciſed either his body in the
" dangers and fatigues of the one, or his mind in
" the refined ſtudies and ſpeculations of the other."

## CATO OF UTICA.

Lib. 2. c. 35. *M. Cato, genitus proavo, M. Catone, principe illo familiæ Porciæ: homo virtuti ſimillimus, & per omnia ingenio diis quàm hominibus propior: qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut facere videretur, ſed quia aliter facere non poterat; cùique id ſolum viſum eſt rationem habere, quod haberet juſtitiam: omnibus humanis vitiis immunis, ſemper fortunam in ſua poteſtate habuit.* " Cato of Utica's
" great grandfather was Cato the cenſor, that illu-
" ſtrious head of the Porcian family. He was in
" all things more like a God than a man, and
" ſeemed *virtue itſelf in human ſhape.* He never
" did any thing virtuous for the ſake of ſeeming
" virtuous, but becauſe he could not do otherwiſe;
" and never thought any thing could have reaſon,
" that wanted juſtice. Exempt from all human
" vices, fortune, to which he never gave way, was
" in his power, and in a manner his ſlave."

POMPEY.

POMPEY.

*Innocentia eximius, ſanctitate præcipuus, eloquentia medius: potentiæ, quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidiſſimus. Dux bello peritiſſimus; civis in toga (niſi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem) modeſtiſſimus. Amicitiarum tenax, in offenſis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fideliſſimus, in accipienda ſatisfactione facillimus. Potentia ſua nunquam, aut rarò, ad impotentiam uſus: penè omnium vitiorum expers, niſi numeraretur inter maxima, in civitate libera dominaque gentium indignari, cùm omnes cives jure haberet pares, quemquam æqualem dignitate conſpicere.* Lib. 2. c. 29.

" Pompey's manners were blameleſe and noble, his " probity ſupreme, his eloquence indifferent. He " was extremely fond of power, when conferred " upon him freely and for his honour, but not ſo " much as to ſeize it by violence: a moſt able ge- " neral in war, a moſt moderate citizen in peace, " except when he apprehended having an equal. " Tenacious in friendſhip, eaſy in forgiving in- " juries, moſt faithful in reconciliation, and far " from rigid in exacting ſatisfaction. He never, " or very rarely, employed his power in committing " violence and oppreſſion; and might be ſaid to " be exempt from all vices, if it were not the " greateſt in a free ſtate, the miſtreſs of the world, " where all the citizens were equal by right and " conſtitution, to be incapable of ſuffering any " equal in power and authority."

CÆSAR.

*Cæſar forma omnium civium excellentiſſimus, vigore animi acerrimus, munificentiæ effuſiſſimus, animo ſuper humanam & naturam & fidem evectus: magnitudine conſiliorum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, Magno illi Alexandro, ſed ſobrio neque iracundo, ſimillimus: qui denique ſemper & ſomno & cibo in vitam, non in voluptatem, uteretur.* Lib. 2. c. 41.

" Cæſar, beſides excelling

" all the Romans in the beauty of his perſon, ſur-
" paſſed them ſtill more in the force and ſuperio-
" rity of his genius, in munificence and liberality
" to profuſion, and in valour and ability above
" either human nature or belief. The greatneſs of
" his projects, the rapidity of his conqueſts, and his
" intrepid valour in confronting dangers, make him
" entirely reſemble Alexander the Great, but Alex-
" ander ſober and free from rage. Food and reſt
" he uſed only for refreſhment, not for pleaſure."

## TACITUS.

TACITUS (*C. Cornelius Tacitus*) was older than the younger Pliny, who was born in the year of Chriſt 61.

Veſpaſian firſt raiſed him to dignities, in which Titus continued him, and to which Domitian added greater. He was prætor in the reign of the latter, and in that of Nerva was ſubſtituted conſul to Virginius Rufus, whoſe panegyric he compoſed.

Plin. Ep. 1. l. 2.

A. D. 77, or 78. A. D. 93.

He married the daughter of Cn. Julius Agricola, famous for the conqueſt of Britain. He had been four years out of Rome with his wife, when Agricola died. Lipſius believes that Tacitus left children, becauſe the emperor Tacitus ſaid he was deſcended from him or from the ſame family.

Vopiſc. in vit. Tacit.

Plin, Ep. 3, 11. l. 2.

Learning rendered Tacitus more illuſtrious than his dignities. He pleaded, even after he had been conſul, with great reputation for eloquence, of which the peculiar character was weight and majeſty. He had been highly eſteemed, from his firſt appearance.

Id. Ep. 2. l. 7.

Id. Ep. 7. l. 8.

Pliny the younger was one of his firſt admirers, and they contracted a great friendſhip with each other. They mutually corrected each other's works; which is of great ſervice to an author. This I experience every day with the utmoſt gratitude, and am conſcious, that I owe the ſucceſs of my labours to the like aſſiſtance of no leſs learned than affectionate friends.

It

It appears that Tacitus publiſhed ſome orations or pleadings. He alſo compoſed ſome pieces in verſe; and there is a letter of his amongſt thoſe of Pliny. Plin. Ep. 10. l. 9.

But he is only known, in theſe days, by his hiſtorical writings, to which St. Sidonius tells us he did not apply himſelf, till after he had endeavoured in vain to perſuade Pliny to undertake his ſubject. Sidon. Ep. 22. l. 4.

He compoſed his *deſcription of Germany* during Trajan's ſecond conſulſhip: at leaſt there is room to conjecture ſo. De Germ. c. 37.

*The life of Agricola*, his father-in-law, appears alſo from the preface to be one of his firſt works, and to be written in the beginning of Trajan's reign. He employs part of the preface in deſcribing the tempeſtuous times of a cruel reign at enmity with all virtue: *Sæva & infeſta virtutibus tempora.* This was that of Domitian. He concludes it with obſerving, that he dedicates that book to the glory of Agricola his father-in-law; and hopes that the reſpect and gratitude, which induced him to undertake it, will either recommend it to favour, or be its excuſe: *Hic interim liber honori Agricolæ ſoceri mei deſtinatus, profeſſione pietatis aut laudatus erit, aut excuſatus.*

He then proceeds to his ſubject, and explains the principal circumſtances and actions of his father-in-law's life. This piece is one of the fineſt and moſt valuable fragments of antiquity; in which ſoldiers, courtiers, and magiſtrates may find excellent inſtructions.

The great work of Tacitus is that wherein he wrote the hiſtory of the emperors, beginning at the death of Galba, and concluding at that of Domitian: which is what we call his *Hiſtories*. But, of the twenty-eight years contained in this hiſtory, from the year ſixty-nine to ninety-ſix, we have only the year ſixty-nine and part of ſeventy. To compoſe this work, he aſked memoirs of particular perſons, as he did of Pliny the younger, concerning his uncle's death. Such as were deſirous of being Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1. Plin. Ep. 16. l. 6.

known

known to poſterity ſent him accounts without application, which we find from the ſame Pliny, who was in hopes of being immortaliſed by that means. The letters which he wrote him, upon that head, ſeem to be of the year 102 or 103, from whence we may judge at what time Tacitus applied himſelf to that work.

Plin. Ep. 16, 20. l. 6.

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1.

He intended, after having finiſhed it, if God prolonged his life, to write alſo the hiſtory of Nerva and Trajan: Happy times, ſays he, in which a man might think as he pleaſed, and ſpeak as he thought. *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* But it does not appear that he executed this deſign.

Inſtead of that he reſumed the Roman hiſtory from the death of Auguſtus to the reign of Galba; and this is the part that he calls his *Annals*, becauſe he endeavoured to introduce all the events under their reſpective years, which however he does not always obſerve in relating ſome wars.

Annal. l. 11 c. 11.

In a paſſage of theſe annals, he refers to the hiſtory of Domitian, that he had written before; which ſhews that the *Hiſtories* were prior to the *Annals*, though the latter are placed firſt. And it is obſerved that the ſtile of his hiſtories is more florid and diffuſe than that of his annals, which is more grave and conciſe, without doubt, as he was naturally inclined to brevity, from his having grown ſtronger in that habit, the more he had written. Of the four emperors, whoſe hiſtory Tacitus wrote in hisannals, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, only that of the firſt and laſt are come down to us almoſt entire: we however want three years of Tiberius, and the latter part of Nero's reign. Caligula is entirely loſt, and we have only the end of Claudius.

Hieron. Zachar.

He deſigned alſo to have written the hiſtory of Auguſtus: but St. Jerom ſeems to have known nothing more of his, except what he treated of from the

the death of that prince to that of Domitian, which, ſays he, made thirty books.

If what Quintilian ſays of a celebrated hiſtorian of his times, whom he does not name, is to be underſtood of Tacitus, as ſome authors have believed, it ſeems that he had been obliged to retrench ſome places in which he was too free and bold. The paſſage of Quintilian * ſays, "There is an hiſtorian "who ſtill lives for the glory of our age, and who "deſerves to live eternally in the remembrance of "ſucceeding times. He will be called by his name "hereafter, at preſent it ſuffices that we know him. "This great man has admirers, but no imitators; "his freedom and love of truth having done him "hurt, notwithſtanding his having ſuppreſſed part "of his writings. In what remains however, we "perfectly diſcern the elevation of his genius, and "his bold and noble manner of thinking."

It is a misfortune that we are no better informed in the circumſtances of the life of ſo illuſtrious a writer: Nor do we know any thing in reſpect to his death. The emperor Tacitus, who held it an honour to deſcend from our hiſtorian's family, decreed, that his works ſhould be placed in all libraries, and that ten copies ſhould be made of them every year at the expence of the public, in order to their being more correct. This was a wiſe and laudable precaution, which, one would think, might have preſerved entire a work ſo worthy in all its parts of being tranſmitted to poſterity. Vopiſc. in vit. Tacit, Imper.

Tacitus boaſts of having written without paſſion or prejudice, *ſine ira & ſtudio*; and of having ſtrictly adhered to truth in every thing, which is the principal duty of an hiſtorian. To effect this, Tacitus had occaſion not only for a great love of

* Supereſt adhuc, & exornat ætatis noſtræ gloriam, vir ſeculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Habet amatores nec imitatores, ut libertas, quanquam circumciſis quæ dixiſſet, ei nocuerit; ſed elatum abunde ſpiritum & audaces ſententias deprehendas etiam in iis quæ manent. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

truth,

truth, but a very fine diſcernment and much precaution. "For he obſerves himſelf, in ſpeaking of "the hiſtories of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and "Nero, that whether they were written during their "lives or after their deaths, falſhood was equally "notorious in them, fear having dictated ſome "of them, and hatred others: *Florentibus ipſis, ob metum falſæ; poſtquam occiderunt, recentibus odiis compoſitæ ſunt.* "There are, ſays he, two failings "highly apt to injure truth, either abandoned adu- "lation, or revengeful hatred againſt thoſe that "reign. It is not to be expected, that hiſtorians, "who are either flatterers or declared enemies, "ſhould have any great regard for poſterity. *Veritas pluribus modis infracta——libidine aſſentandi, aut rurſus odio adverſus dominantes. Ita neutris cura poſteritatis, inter infenſos vel obnoxios.* "We are preſently "diſguſted with the ſordid flattery of a writer, but "hear ſlander and reproach with pleaſure: for adu- "lation bears the odious brand of ſlavery, and ma- "lignity the ſpecious ſhew of freedom." *Sed ambitionem ſcriptoris facilè adverſeris, obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt.* Tacitus promiſes to avoid theſe two extremes, and profeſſes a fidelity of proof againſt all prejudices: *Incorruptam fidem profeſſis, nec amore quiſquam & ſine odio dicendus eſt.*

Annal. l. 1. c. 1.

Hiſtor. l. 1. c. 1.

The part which we have of Tiberius's reign is judged Tacitus's maſterpiece in reſpect to politics. The reſt of his hiſtory, ſay the ſame critics, might be compoſed by another as well as by him; Rome not wanting declaimers to paint the vices of Caligula, the ſtupidity of Claudius, and the cruelties of Nero. But to write the life of a prince like Tiberius required an hiſtorian like Tacitus, who could unravel all the intrigues of the cabinet, aſſign their real cauſes to events, and diſtinguiſh pretext and appearance from actual motives and truth.

It

It is useful and important, I confess, to unmask false virtues, to penetrate the mists and obscurity, in which ambition and the other passions conceal themselves, and to set vice and guilt in full light, in order to inspire the horror of them. But is it not to be feared that an historian, who almost everywhere affects to dive into the human heart, and to sound it in its most secret recesses, gives us his own ideas and conjectures for reality, and frequently lends men intentions they never had, and designs of which they never thought? Sallust throws political reflections into his history, but he does it with more art and reserve, and thereby renders himself less suspected. Tacitus, in his history of the emperors, is more attentive to exposing the bad, than shewing the good: which perhaps is because all those whose lives we have from him are bad princes.

As to the stile of Tacitus, we must own it very obscure: it is sometimes even hard and stiff, and has not all the purity of the good authors of the Latin tongue. But he excels in expressing much sense in few words, which gives a very peculiar force, energy, and spirit, to his discourse. He excels also in painting objects, sometimes with brevity, and sometimes with greater extent, but always in lively colours, that in a manner set what he describes before our eyes, and (which is his peculiar character) suggest much more than they express. Some examples will prove this better than what I say; which I shall extract solely from the life of Agricola.

*Passages of Tacitus full of spirit.*

1. Tacitus speaks of the Britons, who voluntarily supplied recruits, paid tributes, and submitted to all other impositions, when the governors sent from Rome acted with lenity and moderation, "but "suffered cruelty and violent treatment with great "reluctance; sufficiently subjected to obey, but not "to

" to be uſed like ſlaves." *Has (injurias) ægrè tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut ſerviant.* Cap. 13.

2. " Agricola, having applied himſelf from the " firſt year of his government to put a ſtop to theſe " diſorders, reinſtated the deſire of peace, which, " before, either through the negligence or colluſion " of his predeceſſors, was no leſs terrible than war." *Hæc primo ſtatim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ, vel incuriâ vel tolerantiâ priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur.* Cap. 20.

3. Domitian's reception of Agricola, at his return from his glorious campaigns, is one of the fineſt paſſages in Tacitus, but the ſpirit of it cannot be rendered in a tranſlation: *Exceptus brevi oſculo, & nullo ſermone, turbæ ſervientium immixtus eſt.* " After a ſhort cool embrace, in which the em- " peror did not ſay one word, he was left to mix " with the crowd of courtiers attending." *Cap.* 40.

4. The ſame may be ſaid of what immediately follows. Agricola, who perfectly knew the genius of the court, and how offenſive the reputation of a ſucceſsful general is to idle courtiers without merit, to ſoften the luſtre of it, and to illude envy, thought proper to lead a quiet life remote from buſineſs: *Cæterum, ut militare nomen, grave inter otioſos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit.* " He retained a moderate " equipage, treated every body with affability, " and went abroad in the company of only one or " two friends; ſo that the generality of people, " who uſually judge of the merit of men by the " ſplendor and magnificence of their train, when " they ſaw and conſidered him, aſked themſelves " whether that was the ſo much celebrated Agri- " cola, and could ſcarce believe it was him under " ſuch an appearance." *Cultu modicus, ſermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æſtimare mos eſt, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* How

are

are we to render theſe two laſt phraſes, *quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur*, which have a profound ſenſe, that it is almoſt neceſſary to gueſs? The hiſtorian has provided for this, in telling us people generally judge of great men by the ſplendor that ſurrounds them; *pleriſque magnos viros per ambitionem æſtimare mos eſt.* He diſtinguiſhes two kinds of ſpectators. The one, which are the many, in ſeeing the modeſty of Agricola's outſide, inquired upon what his reputation could be founded, not perceiving the uſual marks of it: *ut plerique quærerent famam.* The others, and thoſe the exceeding few, who did not judge by vulgar opinion, comprehended, that great merit might be concealed under a ſimple and modeſt appearance, and that the one was not incompatible with the other: *pauci interpretarentur.*

5. Tacitus ſometimes mingles his facts with very judicious reflections. This he does in a wonderful manner, where he extols the wiſdom and moderation with which Agricola managed and ſoothed the violent temper of Domitian, though himſelf had frequently experienced bad treatment from it: *Proprium humani ingenii eſt, odiſſe quem læſeris, Domitiani verò natura præceps in iram, & quo obſcurior, eo irrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolæ leniebatur: quia non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis, famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant quibus moris illicita mirari, poſſe etiam ſub malis principibus magnos viros eſſe, obſequiumque ac modeſtiam, ſi induſtria ac vigor adſint, eò laudis excedere, quò plerique per abrupta, ſed in nullum reip. uſum, ambitioſa morte inclaruerunt.* Cap. 42. "Though it is of the nature of man to hate whom he has injured, and "Domitian was exceſſively prone to anger, and "the more irreconcileable, the more he concealed "it, Agricola knew how to pacify him by his prudence and moderation. For he never aggravated "his rage by contumacious behaviour, and was

"not

" not ſo eager after fame, as to urge on his fate
" for the empty reputation of a generous freedom
" of ſpeech. Let thoſe who admire ſuch a raſh-
" neſs of generoſity learn from him, that great
" men may live under bad princes; and that ſub-
" miſſion and modeſty, if ſupported with vigour
" and induſtry, may acquire greater fame, than
" many have aſpired to by a bold and hardy be-
" haviour, without any emolument to the public,
" and with no other fruit to themſelves, except a
" more diſtinguiſhed death."

## QUINTUS CURTIUS *(Rufus.)*

*Antient Hiſtory,* Vol. VI.

I have already obſerved elſewhere, that the time when Quintus Curtius lived is not precisely known. The learned are very much divided on this head; ſome placing him in the reign of Auguſtus or Tiberius, and others in that of Veſpaſian, and even of Trajan.

He wrote the hiſtory of Alexander the Great in ten books, of which the two firſt are not come down to us, and which have been ſupplied by Freinſhemius. His ſtile is florid, agreeable, and full of wiſe reflections; and he has many very fine harangues, but generally too long, and ſometimes in the ſpirit of declamation. His thoughts, which are full of wit, and often very ſolid, have however an affected glitter and conceit, which do not entirely appear of the ſtamp of the Auguſtan age. It would be ſurpriſing enough, that Quintilian, in his enumeration of the Latin authors, ſhould have omitted to mention an hiſtorian of the merit of Quintus Curtius, had the latter lived before him.

He is reproached with many faults of ignorance in reſpect to aſtronomy, geography, the dates of his events, and even the moſt known effects of nature; as having thought the moon indifferently eclipſed when new, and when at the full: *Lunam deficere, cùm aut terram ſubiret, aut ſole premeretur.* Lib. 4. c. 10.

There

There is an excellent French tranſlation of this author by Mr. Vaugelas.

## SUETONIUS. *(Caius Suetonius Tranquillus)*

SUETONIUS was the ſon of Suetonius Lenis, a tribune of the thirteenth legion, who was at the battle of Bedriacum, where the troops of Vitellius were defeated by Otho. He flouriſhed in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian. Sueton. in Othon. c. 10.

Pliny the Younger had a great affection for him, and was very deſirous of having him always with him. He ſays, that the more he knew him the better he loved him, upon account of his probity, politeneſs, good conduct, application to letters, and erudition; and did him many ſervices. Plin. l. 10; Ep. 100.

Suetonius compoſed a great number of books, which are almoſt all loſt. Only his hiſtory of the firſt twelve emperors, and part of his treatiſe upon the celebrated grammarians and rhetoricians, are come down to us.

This hiſtory is very much eſteemed by the learned. He confines himſelf in it leſs to the affairs of the empire, than the perſons of the emperors, whoſe particular actions, domeſtic behaviour, and inclinations in general, good or bad, he relates. He does not obſerve the order of time, and no hiſtory ever differed more from annals than this. He reduces the whole to certain general heads, ſetting down under each all that relates to it. His ſtile is ſtrong and ſimple, in which it plainly appears, that he was more intent on truth than eloquence. He is blamed for having given too much licence to his pen, and for being as looſe and debauched in his narrations, as the emperors, whoſe hiſtory he writes, in their lives.

## LUCIUS FLORUS.

FLORUS is believed to have been a Spaniard, of the family of the Seneca's, and to have had the names of *L. Annæus Seneca* by birth, and of *L. Ju-* Voſſius.

*lius Florus* by adoption. We have an abridgement of his in four books of the Roman hiſtory from Romulus down to Auguſtus, which ſeems to have been written in Trajan's time. It has not the uſual fault of abridgements, of being dry, barren, and inſipid. Its ſtile is elegant, agreeable, and has a kind of poetical vivacity in it: but in ſome places it has too much emphaſis and pomp, and ſometimes even bombaſt. It is not an abridgement of Livy, from whom he often differs. We have ſaid before, that it is doubted whether the epitome's or ſummaries at the head of the books of Livy were written by Florus.

## JUSTIN.

JUSTIN is believed to have inſcribed his abridgement of the hiſtory of Trogus Pompeius to Titus Antoninus: but that is not certain, there having been ſeveral emperors of the name of Antoninus. Trogus Pompeius was one of the illuſtrious writers of the time of Auguſtus, and is ranked amongſt the hiſtorians of the firſt claſs, Livy, Salluſt, and Tacitus. His work was of immenſe extent, and contained the Greek and Roman hiſtory entire down to the reign of Auguſtus. Juſtin has abridged it in the ſame number of books; for which we are not obliged to him, if it be true that his abridgement occaſioned the loſs of the original. We may judge of the purity and elegance of Trogus's ſtile from the ſpeech of Mithridates to his troops, which Juſtin has inſerted entire in his thirty-eighth book. It is very long and indirect. For Juſtin takes notice, that Trogus did not approve the direct harangues introduced by Livy and Salluſt in their hiſtories. It is at the end of this ſpeech, after having repreſented to his ſoldiers, that he is not going to lead them into the frightful ſolitudes of Scythia, but the moſt fertile and opulent region in the univerſe, that Mithridates adds: "Aſia expects them with "impatience, and ſeems to offer them her hand,

"whilſt

" whilſt ſhe loudly invokes their aid; ſo much have " the rapaciouſneſs of proconſuls, the oppreſſions " of tax-farmers, and the vexations of unjuſt tri- " bunals, inſpired them with hatred and deteſta- " tion of the Romans;" *Tantumque ſe avida expectat Aſia, ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incuſſit rapacitas proconſulum, ſectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium.* The ſtile of Juſtin is clear, intelligible, and agreeable: we find in him from time to time fine thoughts, ſolid reflections, and very lively deſcriptions. Except a ſmall number of words and modes of ſpeech, his Latinity is ſufficiently pure; and it is very probable that he generally uſes the words and even phraſes of Trogus.

## AUTHORS of the AUGUST HISTORY.

The lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus is called *The Auguſt Hiſtory*. Thoſe authors are Spartianus, Lampridius, Vulcatius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiſcus. They all lived in the reign of Diocleſian, though ſome of them wrote alſo under his ſucceſſors. I ſhall not enter into a particular account of their works, which have no relation to my hiſtory.

## AURELIUS VICTOR.

AURELIUS VICTOR lived in the reign of Conſtantius, and long after. He is believed to have been an African. He was born in the country, and the ſon of a very poor illiterate man. He ſeems to have been a Pagan at the time he wrote. His hiſtory of the emperors begins at Auguſtus, and goes on to the twenty-third year of Conſtantius.

We have alſo, of the ſame author's, an abridgement of the lives of illuſtrious men, almoſt all Romans, from Procas to Julius Cæſar. Others aſcribe this little work to Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, *&c.* but Voſſius maintains that it is Aurelius Victor's. This abridgement contains little more

than proper names and dates, and for that reaſon does not ſuit children who cannot learn much Latinity from it.

## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was by nation a Greek, of a conſiderable family in the city of Antioch. He ſerved many years in the Roman armies in the time of Conſtantius. He afterwards quitted the troops, and retired to Rome, where he wrote his hiſtory, which he divided into one and thirty books. He continued it from Nerva, where Suetonius ends, to the death of Valens. We have now only the laſt eighteen books, which begin at the end of the year 353, immediately after the death of Magnentius. Though he was a Greek, he wrote it in Latin, but in a Latin that ſavours much of the Greek and the ſoldier. This defect, ſays Voſſius, is made amends for by the author's other qualities, who is grave, ſolid, judicious, very ſincere, and a great lover of truth. His zeal for idols and their adorers, particularly for Julian the apoſtate, whom he makes his hero, is very evident; and on the contrary he appears much the enemy of Conſtantius. He does not however fail to treat both the one and the other with juſtice.

## EUTROPIUS.

EUTROPIUS wrote his abridgement of the Roman hiſtory in the reigns of Valentinian and Valens, but by order of the latter, to whom he inſcribes it. To judge of it by his ſtile, one would believe him rather a Greek than a Roman.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER III.

## OF ORATORS.

### INTRODUCTION.

I AM to ſpeak in this place of the part of polite learning which has the moſt beauty, ſolidity, greatneſs, and ſplendor, and is of the moſt extenſive uſe: I mean Eloquence. This is a talent, which exalts the orator above the vulgar of mankind, and almoſt above humanity itſelf: which renders him in ſome meaſure the guide and arbiter of the moſt important deliberations; which gives him an empire over the mind the more admirable, as it is entirely voluntary, and founded ſolely upon the force of reaſon placed in all its light: in a word, which enables him to ſway the heart to his purpoſes, to overcome the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, and to inſpire ſuch ſentiments as he pleaſes, joy or ſorrow, love or hatred, hope or fear, compaſſion or reſentment. If we repreſent to ourſelves the numerous aſſemblies of Athens or Rome, in which the greateſt intereſts of thoſe ſtates are conſidered, and where the orator, from the tribunal of harangues, reigns by his eloquence over an immenſe people, who hear him with a profound ſilence interrupted only by applauſes and acclamations: Of all that the world ever contained of magnificent in appearance, and moſt capable of dazzling the mind of man, is there any thing ſo grand, ſo ſoothing to to ſelf-love, as This?

What ſtill infinitely exalts the value of eloquence, according to the judicious reflection of Cicero, is the amazing ſcarcity of good orators in all ages. If we look back into all other profeſſions, arts and ſciences, we find numbers diſtinguiſhed for excelling in them, Lib. 1. Orat. n. 6, —16.

generals, ſtateſmen, philoſophers, mathematicians, phyſicians, in a word, great perſons in every way. We cannot ſay the ſame entirely in reſpect to poets; I mean ſuch as have attained perfection in their art: the number of theſe has always been extremely ſmall, but however much greater than that of good orators.

What I now ſay ought to ſeem the more ſurpriſing, as, in reſpect to the other arts and ſciences, it is generally neceſſary to imbibe them from ſources devious and unknown, and not of common uſe; whereas the talent of ſpeaking is a thing merely natural, that ſeems to be within every one's capacity, that has nothing in it obſcure and abſtracted, and of which one of the principal rules and moſt eſſential virtues is to expreſs one's ſelf clearly, without ever departing from nature.

It cannot be ſaid, that, amongſt the antients, the ſucceſs of the other arts proceeded from a greater number of perſons being induced by the allurement of rewards to apply themſelves to them. As well at Athens as Rome, the two great theatres in which the talents of the mind ſhone out with moſt luſtre, no ſtudy was ever cultivated more univerſally, nor with greater application and ardor, than that of eloquence. And we ought not to wonder at it. In republics like thoſe, where all the affairs of the ſtate were examined in common; where war and peace, alliances and laws, were deliberated upon either before the people or ſenate, or with both; and where every thing was determined by plurality of voices; the talent of ſpeaking muſt neceſſarily have prevailed. Whoever ſpoke in theſe aſſemblies with moſt eloquence, became by neceſſary conſequence the moſt powerful. Hence the youth, of any ambition, did not fail to apply themſelves with the utmoſt diligence, to a ſtudy that alone opened the way to riches, credit, and dignities.

Whence therefore was it, that, notwithſtanding the application and efforts of ſo great a number of excel-

excellent geniuſſes, the great advantages in reſpect to fortune, and the attraction of ſo ſoothing a reputation; the number of excellent orators has always been ſo ſmall? The reaſon is evident, and we ought to conclude, that of all the arts which are the object of human wit, eloquence muſt neceſſarily be the greateſt, the moſt difficult, and that which requires the moſt talents, and talents entirely different and even oppoſite in appearance, for ſucceeding in it.

Every body knows that there are three kinds of ſtile, the great or ſublime, the common or ſimple, and the mediate or florid, which holds the mean between the other two.

In the * ſublime kind, the orator employs whatever is moſt noble in the thoughts, moſt lofty in the expreſſions, moſt bold in the figures, and moſt ſtrong and pathetic in the paſſions. His diſcourſe is then like an impetuous torrent, incapable of being ſtopped or kept in, which in its violence bears away thoſe that hear it, and forces them, whether they will or no, to follow it whereſoever it hurries them. But this is not the place for treating this ſubject, which would alone prove the extent of the talents neceſſary to eloquence.

The † ſimple ſtile is quite different. It is clear, pure, intelligible, and nothing more. It has no thoughts of ſoaring, and endeavours only to be underſtood. It values itſelf ſolely upon a peculiar purity of language, great elegance, and refined delicacy. If it ſometimes ventures ornament, that

* Grandiloqui [quidam] ut ita dicam fuerunt, cum ampla & ſententiarum gravitate, & majeſtate verborum; vehementes, varii, copioſi, graves, ad permovendos & convertendos animos inſtructi & parati. *Cic. in Orat. n.* 20.

At ille qui ſaxa devolvat, & pontem indignetur, & ripas ſibi faciat, multus & torrens judicem vel nitentem contrà ferat, cogetque ire qua rapit. *Quintil. l.* 12. *c.* 10.

† Contrà [ſunt quidam] tenues, acuti, omnia docentes, & dilucidiora non ampliora facientes, ſubtili quadam & preſſa oratione limati—Alii in eadem jejunitate concinniores, id eſt, faceti, florentes etiam, & leviter ornati. *Orat. n.* 20.

ornament is entirely ſimple and natural. Horace's expreſſion, *ſimplex munditiis*, is the beſt I can uſe to deſcribe this ſtile, of which Phædrus and Terence are the moſt perfect models.

A third * ſpecies of eloquence is in a manner the mean between the other two, and is therefore called the mixed, florid, or mediate ſtile. It has neither the delicacy of the latter, nor the force and thunder of the forme. It borders upon both, but without attaining to, or reſembling either. It participates of the one and the other, or, to ſpeak more juſtly, it is neither the one nor the other. The orator, in this way, deſignedly uſes the glitter of metaphors, the glow of figures, agreeable digreſſions, harmony of diſpoſition, and beauty of thoughts; retaining always however the mild and temperate character peculiar to it: ſo that it may then be compared to a ſtream that rolls its ſilver waves through flowery banks ſhaded with verdant trees.

Each of theſe kinds of eloquence is highly eſtimable in itſelf, and acquires all writers that ſucceed in them great reputation. But the † ſublime riſes infinitely above the other two. It is this kind of eloquence which excites admiration, raviſhes applauſe, and ſets all the paſſions of the ſoul in motion; that ſometimes, by its impetuoſity, its thunders, throws

* Eſt autem quidam interjectus medius, & quaſi temperatus, nec acumine poſteriorum, nec fulmine utens ſuperiorum: vicinus amborum, in neutro excellens: utriuſque particeps, vel utriuſque (ſi verum quærimus) potiùs expers. *Orat. n.* 21.

Medius hic modus, & tranſlationibus crebrior, & figuris erit jucundior; egreſſionibus amœnus, compoſitione aptus, ſententiis dulcis: lenior tamen, ut amnis lucidus quidam, & virentibus utrinque ſylvis inumbratus. *Quintil. l.* 12. *c.* 10.

† Tertius eſt amplus, copioſus, gravis, ornatus, in quo profecto vis maxima eſt. Hic eſt enim, cujus ornatum dicendi & copiam admiratæ gentes, eloquentiam in civitatibus plurimum valere paſſæ ſunt: ſed hanc eloquentiam, quæ curſu magno ſonituque ferretur, quam ſuſpicerent omnes, quam admirarentur, quam ſe aſſequi poſſe diffiderent. Hujus eloquentiæ eſt tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perfringit, modò irrepit in ſenſus: inſerit novas opiniones, evellit inſitas. *Orat. n.* 97.

trouble

trouble and emotion into the mind, and ſometimes inſinuates itſelf with a majeſty of ſweetneſs, a dignity of ſoftneſs, irreſiſtibly tender and affecting.

It is the union of all theſe parts which forms the perfect orator; and it is eaſy to perceive how difficult and extraordinary it is for one man to poſſeſs ſo many different qualities. The enumeration, which we ſhall ſoon make of the antient Greek and Latin orators, will ſhew us ſome who have confined themſelves with ſucceſs to the two latter kinds, but very few who have been able to attain to the ſublime, and ſtill fewer who have ſucceeded in all three at the ſame time.

What renders ſucceſs in this reſpect ſo difficult and extraordinary is, that the excellent qualities, which form the three kinds of ſtile, have each a defect that borders very cloſe upon them, which adorns itſelf with their name, which does indeed reſemble them in ſome meaſure, but at the ſame time alters and vitiates them, by carrying them too far, by making ſimplicity degenerate into meanneſs, ornament into tinſel and glare, and the great and ſublime into empty ſwell and bombaſt. For it is in ſtile, as in virtue. There are in the one and the other certain bounds and modifications to be obſerved, beyond which lie the vicious extremes:

*Eſt modus in rebus, ſunt certi denique fines,*
*Quos ultra citraque nequit cónſiſtere rectum.* Hor.

Extremes the more to be feared, as they ſeem to ſpring from virtue itſelf, and confound themſelves with it.

The * Greeks call this exceſs κακόζηλον, *vicious affectation.* It appears in the three kinds of ſtile, when they exceed the bounds of the juſt and the

* Κακόζηλον, id eſt, mala affectatio, per omne dicendi genus peccat—Ita vocatur quicquid eſt ultra virtutem, quoties ingenium judicio caret, & ſpecie boni fallitur: omnium in eloquentia vitiorum peſſimum; nam cetera cùm vitentur, hoc petitur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 3.

true,

true, when the imagination throws off the guidance of the judgment, and the mind is dazzled with a falſe appearance of the Good: This, in reſpect of eloquence, is the greateſt and moſt dangerous of faults, becauſe inſtead of being avoided like others, the phantom is purſued as merit.

There is alſo * one virtue common to all the three kinds of ſtile, with which I ſhall conclude. Amongſt orators, and the ſame may be ſaid of hiſtorians, poets, and all writers, there is an infinite variety of ſtiles, geniuſſes, and characters, which occaſions ſo great a difference between them, that ſcarce one can be found amongſt them who perfectly reſembles another. There is however a kind of ſecret reſemblance and common tie between them, which makes them approach, and unites them with each other. I mean a certain delicacy and refinement of taſte, a kind of tincture of the True and the Fine, a manner of thinking and expreſſing themſelves, of which nature itſelf is the ſource; in fine, that Something it is eaſier to conceive than expreſs, by which a reader of taſte and ſenſe diſcerns the works, both antient and modern, that bear the ſtamp of pure and elegant antiquity.

And this is what young perſons, who deſire to make any progreſs in polite learning, ought to make the principal object of their care and application: I mean to ſtudy in the works of the learned thoſe natural beauties which are the growth of all ages and all languages, and to make themſelves familiar with them by a ſerious and reiterated commerce with the authors wherein they are to be found, in order to attain ſo happy a taſte as to diſcern them at firſt ſight, and, if I may venture the expreſſion, to perceive them like fragrant odours almoſt by the ſcent.

* Habet omnia eloquentia aliquid commune. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 2.

ARTICLE

# ARTICLE I.

## OF THE GREEK ORATORS.

### SECT. I.

*The Age in which eloquence flouriſhed moſt at Athens.*

GREECE, * ſo fertile in fine geniuſſes for all the other arts, was a long time barren in reſpect to eloquence, and, before Pericles, may in ſome meaſure be ſaid to have only ſpoken like an infant, and that till then ſhe had but a ſmall idea of, and ſet little value upon the talent of ſpeaking. It was at Athens that eloquence began firſt to appear with ſplendor. And it is not ſurpriſing that it was not in honour there, till after many ages. Eloquence does not uſually grow up amidſt the cares that are neceſſary in founding a ſtate, and the tumult of wars. She is the friend of peace, and the companion of tranquillity, and requires, if I may venture the expreſſion, for her cradle, a commonwealth already well eſtabliſhed and flouriſhing.

But † what ought to appear ſurpriſing is, that eloquence, almoſt in her birth, and from her firſt appearance (which Cicero dates in the time of Pericles) ſhould on a ſudden attain to ſuch an height of perfection. Before ‡ Pericles there was no work or diſcourſe in which any trace of beauty or ornament

* Græcia—omnes artes vetuſtiores habet, & multo antè non inventas ſolùm, ſed etiam perfectas, quam eſt à Græcis elaborata vis dicendi atque copia. In quam cùm intuor, maxime mihi occurrunt, Attice, & quaſi lucent Athenæ tuæ, qua in urbe primùm ſe orator extulit.——Non in conſtituentibus Remp. nec in bella gerentibus—naſci cupiditas dicendi ſolet. Pacis eſt comes, otiique ſocia, & jam bene conſtitutæ civitatis quaſi alumna quædam eloquentia. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 26. & 45.

† Hæc ætas prima Athenis oratorem prope perfectum tulit. *Ibid.* n. 45.

‡ Ante Periclem—litera nulla eſt, quæ quidem ornatum aliquem habeat, & oratoris eſſe videatur. *Ibid.* n. 27.

appeared,

appeared, or which expreſſed the orator; and his harangues diſplayed, even then, whatever is fineſt, moſt vigorous, and moſt ſublime in eloquence.

Pericles, whoſe view was to render himſelf powerful in the republic, and to ſway in the aſſemblies of the people, conſidered eloquence as the moſt neceſſary means for the attainment of thoſe ends, and devoted himſelf wholly to it. The natural excellency of his genius ſupplied him with whatever was wanting for his ſucceſs, and the great * application he had before made to philoſophy, under Anaxagoras, had taught him by what ſprings the human heart was to be moved and actuated at will. He employed with wonderful art ſometimes the charms of inſinuation to perſuade, and ſometimes the force of vehement paſſions to oppoſe and ſubdue. * Athens, † who ſaw a new light ſhine out in her boſom, charmed with the graces and ſublimity of his diſcourſe, admired and feared his eloquence. It is ‡ obſerved, that, at the very time he oppoſed the paſſions of the people with a kind of inflexible obſtinacy, he knew how to pleaſe them, and had the addreſs to bring them over inſenſibly to his opinion. The comic poets, accordingly, in their ſatires upon him (for at that time they did not ſpare the moſt powerful) ſaid to his praiſe, on one ſide,

* In Phædro Platonis [*pag.* 270] hôc Periclem præſtitiſſe ceteris dicit oratoribus Socrates, quòd is Anaxagoræ Phyſici fuerit auditor: à quo cenſet eum, cùm alia præclara quædam & magnifica didiciſſet, uberem & fœcundum fuiſſe, gnarumque (quod eſt eloquentiæ maximum) quibus orationis modis quæque animorum partes pellerentur. *Cic. in Orat.* n. 15.

† Hujus ſuavitate maximè exhilaratæ ſunt Athenæ, hujus ubertatem & copiam admiratæ; ejuſdem vim dicendi terroremque timuerunt. *In Brut.* n. 44.

‡ Quid Pericles? de cujus dicendi copia ſic accepimus, ut, cùm contra voluntatem Athienſium loqueretur pro ſalute patriæ, ſeverius tamen id ipſum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus & jucundum videretur. Cujus in labris veteres comici etiam cùm *illi* maledicerent (quod tum Athenis fieri liceret) leporem habitaſſe dixerunt; tantamque in eo vim fuiſſe, ut in eorum mentibus qui audiſſent quaſi aculeos quoſdam relinqueret. *De Orat.* l. 3. n. 138.

that

that the goddeſs of perſuaſion with all her charms, dwelt on his lips; and, on the other, that his diſcourſe* had the vehemence of thunder, and that it always left behind it a kind of ſtimulation in the ſouls of his hearers.

By this † extraordinary talent of ſpeaking, Pericles retained during forty years, as well in war as peace, an entire authority over the moſt inconſtant and capricious, and at the ſame time the moſt jealous people in the world of their liberty, whoſe diſcouragement in diſgrace it was ſometimes neceſſary to remove, as it was ſometimes to abate their pride, and to check their raſhneſs in ſucceſs. Hence we may judge of the power and value of eloquence.

Though Pericles left no piece of eloquence behind him, he however deſerves to be ranked at the head of the Greek orators; and the more, according to ‡ Cicero, becauſe it was he who firſt taught Athens a taſte for ſound and perfect eloquence, placed it in honour, ſhewed its true eaſe and deſtination, and made its ſalutary effects evident by the ſucceſs which attended his harangues.

I proceed now to ſpeak of the ten Athenian orators, of whoſe lives Plutarch has given us an abridgement, and ſhall treat only thoſe, who are moſt known, with ſome extent.

*Of the ten Greek orators.*

## ANTIPHON.

ANTIPHON improved himſelf very much in his converſations with Socrates. He taught rhetoric; he alſo compoſed pleadings for ſuch as had occaſion Plut de vit. decem Rhet.

* Ab Ariſtophane poëta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſt. *Orat.* n. 29.

Ἠςραπτ', ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλάδα.

† Itaque hic doctrina, conſilio, eloquentia excellens, quadraginta annos præfuit Athenis, & urbanis eodem tempore & bellicis rebus. *Ibid.*

‡ Pericles primus adhibuit doctrinam, &c. *In Brut.* n. 44.

for

for them, and is believed to be the firſt that introduced that cuſtom. His invention was warm and abundant, his ſtile exact, his proofs ſtrong, and he had a great felicity in anſwering unforeſeen objections. He was no leſs ſucceſsful in moving the paſſions, and in giving the perſons he introduced ſpeaking their juſt and peculiar characters. He was condemned to die for having favoured the eſtabliſhment of the Four Hundred at Athens.

## ANDOCIDES.

Plut. ANDOCIDES was alſo the cotemporary of Socrates. He began to flouriſh twenty years before Lycias. He was brought to a trial as an accomplice in throwing down the ſtatues of Mercury, which were all either thrown down or mutilated in one night, in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war. He could extricate himſelf from this danger only by promiſing to diſcover the guilty, in which number he included his own father, whoſe life, however, he ſaved. His ſtile was ſimple, and almoſt entirely void of figures and ornaments.

## LYSIAS.

Dionyſ. Halic. in Lyſ. LYSIAS was by origin of Syracuſe, but born at Athens. At fifteen years of age he went to Thurium in Italy with two of his brothers in the new colony ſent thither to ſettle. He continued there till the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe, and then returned to Athens in the forty-eighth year of his age.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his peculiar merit, and was always conſidered as one of the moſt excellent of the Greek orators, but in the ſimple and tranquil ſpecies of eloquence. Perſpicuity, purity, ſweetneſs, and delicacy of ſtile, were his particular attributes. He was, ſays * Cicero, a writer

* Fuit Lyſias——egregiè ſubtilis atque elegans, quem jam propè audeas oratorem perfectum dicere. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 35.

of great ſubtilty and elegance, in whom Athens might almoſt boaſt already of a perfect orator. Quintilian gives us the ſame idea of him. Lyſias *, ſays he, is ſubtile and elegant, and, if it ſufficed for an orator to inſtruct, none were more perfect than him. For he has nothing ſuperfluous, nothing affected in his diſcourſe. His ſtile however reſembles more a ſmall and clear ſtream, than a great river.

If Lyſias generally confined himſelf to that ſimplicity, and, as Cicero † calls it, leanneſs of ſtile, it was not becauſe he was abſolutely incapable of force and greatneſs: for, according to the ſame Cicero, there were very ſtrong and nervous paſſages in his harangues. He wrote ‡ in that manner through choice and judgment. He did not plead at the bar himſelf, but compoſed pleadings for others; and to ſuit their character, was often obliged to uſe a ſimple ſtile with little or no elevation; without which thoſe native graces, which were admirable in him, had been loſt, and he had betrayed the ſecret himſelf. It was therefore neceſſary that his diſcourſes, which he did not pronounce himſelf, ſhould have a natural and negligent air, that requires great art, and is one of the moſt refined ſecrets of compoſition. In this manner the law for accuſed perſons to plead their own cauſes without the help of advocates was eluded.

When Socrates was ſummoned before the judges to anſwer for his opinions concerning religion, Lyſias brought him a ſpeech, which he had compoſed Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 231.

* Lyſias ſubtilis atque elegans, & quo nihil, ſi oratori ſatis ſit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim eſt inane, nihil accerſitum: puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini, propior. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† In Lyſia ſunt ſæpe etiam lacerti, ſic ut nihil fieri poſſit valentius: verùm eſt certè genere toto ſtrigoſior. *Brut.* n. 64.

‡ Illud in Lyſia dicendi textum tenue atque rarum lætioribus numeris corrumpendum non erat. Perdidiſſet enim gratiam, quæ in eo maxima eſt, ſimplicis atque inaffectati coloris: perdidiſſet fidem quoque. Nam ſcribebat aliis, non ipſe dicebat; ut oportuerit eſſe illa rudibus & incompoſitis ſimilia, quod ipſum compoſitio eſt. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

with

with abundance of care, and in which he had undoubtedly introduced whatever was capable of moving the judges. * Socrates, after having read it, told him, that he thought it very fine and oratorical, but not conſiſtent with the reſolution and fortitude that became a philoſopher.

Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus deſcribes at large, and with abundance of taſte and judgment, the character of Lyſias's ſtile, of which he enumerates the conſtituent parts, that are all of the ſimple and natural kind of eloquence I have ſpoken of. He even repeats ſome paſſages in one of his harangues, the better to make known his ſtile.

## ISOCRATES.

ISOCRATES was the ſon of Theodorus the Athenian, who having inriched himſelf by making muſical inſtruments, was in a condition to give his children a good education: for he had two more ſons and one daughter. Iſocrates came into the world about the 86th Olympiad, two and twenty years after Lyſias, and ſeven before Plato.

A. M. 3568. Ant. J. C. 436.

He had an excellent education under Prodicus, Gorgias, Tiſias, and, according to ſome, Theramenes, that is to ſay, all the moſt famous rhetoricians of thoſe times.

His inclination would have led him to follow the uſual courſe of the young Athenians, and to have ſhared in the public affairs: but the weakneſs of his voice, and his almoſt unſurmountable timidity, not permitting him to venture appearing in public, he directed his views a different way. He did not however entirely renounce either the glory of eloquence, or the deſire of rendering himſelf uſeful to the public, which were his ruling paſſions; and what the natural impediment of his voice denied him he conceived thoughts of attaining by

* Illam orationem diſertam ſibi & oratoriam videri, fortem & virilem non videri.

the

the help of his induſtry and pen. Accordingly he applied himſelf diligently to compoſition, and did not, like the generality of the ſophiſts, make chimerical and uſeleſs queſtions, or ſubjects of mere curioſity, the objects of his application, but ſolid and important topics of government, which might be of uſe to ſtates, and even princes as well as private perſons, and at the ſame time do honour to himſelf by the graces he ſhould endeavour to diffuſe throughout his writings. Iſocrates himſelf informs us, in the exordium of his diſcourſe, that theſe were his views. In Panathen.

He exerciſed himſelf alſo in compoſing pleadings for ſuch as had occaſion for them, according to the cuſtom general enough in thoſe times, though contrary to the laws, which, as I have obſerved before, ordained that perſons ſhould defend themſelves without uſing the help of others. But, as theſe pleadings drew trouble upon himſelf in conſequence of the violation of the law, and obliged him to appear often before the judges, he renounced them entirely, and opened a ſchool for the inſtruction of youth in eloquence.

By this new application, * the houſe of Iſocrates became, in reſpect to Greece in general, a fruitful nurſery of great men, and, like the Trojan horſe, none came out of it but illuſtrious perſons. Tho' he did not appear in public at the bar, and confined himſelf within the walls of his ſchool or ſtudy, he acquired a reputation to which none after him could attain, and was equally eſteemed for the excellence

* Extitit igitur Iſocrates——(cujus domus, cunctæ Græciæ quaſi ludus quidam patuit atque officina dicendi) magnus orator & perfectus magiſter, quanquam forenſi luce caruit, intraque parietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo quidem, meo judicio, eſt poſtea conſecutus. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 32.

Ex Iſocratis ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes extituerunt. *Lib.* 2. *de Orat.* n. 94.

Clariſſimus ille præceptor Iſocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixiſſe, quam diſcipuli bene docuiſſe teſtantur. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 9.

of his compoſitions, and his art of teaching, as his writings and pupils ſufficiently proved.

He had a wonderful capacity in diſcerning the force, genius, and character of his ſcholars, and in knowing how to exerciſe and direct their talents: * a rare, but abſolutely neceſſary, quality for ſucceeding in the important employment of inſtructing. Iſocrates, in ſpeaking of two of his moſt illuſtrious diſciples, uſed to ſay, that in regard to Ephorus he uſed the ſpur, and to Theopompus the bridle, in order to quicken the ſlowneſs of the one, and check the too great vivacity of the other. The latter, in compoſing, gave a looſe to his fire and imagination, and exhauſted himſelf in bold and glowing expreſſions: him he curbed. The other, on the contrary, who was timid and reſerved, regarded nothing but a rigid correctneſs, and never dared to venture the leaſt excurſion: to him he recommended ſoaring and the flights of imagination. His deſign was not to make them like each other: but by retrenching from the one, and adding to the other, to conduct each to the higheſt pitch of perfection of which his genius was ſuſceptible.

Plut. de decem Orat. Gr. in Iſocr.

Iſocrates's ſchool was of great uſe to the public, and at the ſame time of great gain to himſelf. He acquired more money in it than any ſophiſt had ever done before him. He had generally more than an hundred ſcholars at five hundred drachma's (about twenty-five pounds) each, in all probability, for the whole time of their ſtudying under him. For the honour of ſo great a maſter, I ſhould be ſorry if what is ſaid of him in reſpect to Demoſthe-

* Diligentiſſime hoc eſt eis, qui inſtituunt aliquos atque erudiunt, videndum, quò ſuâ quemque natura maxime ferre videatur——Dicebat Iſocrates, doctor ſingularis, ſe calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti ſolere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quaſi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos ſimiles effecit inter ſe, ſed tantum alteri affinxit, de altero limavit, ut id conformaret in utroque, quod utriuſque natura pateretur. *Lib.* 3. *de Orat.* n. 36.

nes

nes were true, that he would not inſtruct him, because he was not able to pay the uſual price. I chuſe rather to hold with what Plutarch tells us in the ſame place, that Iſocrates took nothing of the citizens of Athens, and only of ſtrangers. So generous and diſintereſted a conduct ſuits much better with his character, and the excellent principles of morality diffuſed throughout all his works.

Beſides his income from his ſchool, he received great preſents from conſiderable perſons. Nicocles, king of Cyprus, and ſon of Evagoras, gave him twenty talents (about five thouſand pounds) for the diſcourſe inſcribed with his name.

A very ſenſible ſaying of Iſocrates is related: Plut. ibid. He was at table with Nicocreon king of Cyprus, and was preſſed to talk, and ſupply matter for converſation. He perſiſted in excuſing himſelf, and gave this reaſon for his refuſal: *What I do know does not ſuit this place; and what would ſuit it I don't know.* This thought is very like that of Seneca: * *I never deſired to pleaſe the people: for they do not approve what I know, and I don't know what they approve.*

Iſocrates, upon the news of the defeat of the Athenians by Philip at the battle of Chæronea, could not ſurvive the misfortune of his country, and died of grief, after having continued four days without eating. He was then fourſcore and eighteen, or an hundred years old. Ibid.

It is hard to deſcribe the ſtile of Iſocrates better than Cicero and Quintilian have done it: I ſhall cite their own words.

Cicero, after having related the favourable idea which Socrates had conceived of Iſocrates whilſt very young, and Plato's magnificent praiſe of him when very old, though he ſeems the declared enemy of the rhetoricians, goes on thus deſcribing his In Orat. n. 41, 42.

* Nunquam volui populo placere: nam, quæ ego ſcio, non probat; quæ probat populus, ego neſcio. *Senec.* Ep. 29.

ſtile: *Dulce igitur orationis genus, & ſolutum, & effluens, ſententiis argutum, verbis ſonans, eſt in illo epidictico genere, quod diximus proprium Sophiſtarum, pompæ quam pugnæ aptius, gymnaſiis & palæſtræ dicatum, ſpretum & pulſum foro.* "This kind of elo-
"quence is ſmooth, agreeable, flowing, and abounds
"with fine thoughts and harmonious expreſſions:
"but it has been excluded the bar, and transferred
"to the academies, as more proper for preparatory
"exerciſes, than real affairs."

Lib. 10. c. 1. The following is Quintilian's picture of it, and ſeems to have been copied from the former: *Iſocrates in diverſo genere dicendi* [he had juſt before ſpoken of Lyſias] *nitidus & comptus, & palæſtræ quam pugnæ magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi veneres ſecutus eſt. Nec immeritò, auditoriis enim ſe, non judiciis comparârat: in inventione facilis, honeſti ſtudioſus, in compoſitione adeo diligens, ut cura ejus reprehendatur.*

Lyſias and Iſocrates reſembled each other very much in many points, as Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſhews at large: but the ſtile of the latter is more ſmooth, flowing, elegant, florid, and adorned; his thoughts are more lively and delicate, with a diſpoſition of words extremely laboured, and perhaps to exceſs. In a word, all the beauties and graces of eloquence, uſed by the ſophiſts in the demonſtrative kind, are diſplayed in his diſcourſes, not deſigned for action and the bar, but pomp and oſtentation.

Cicero, in many parts of his books *de Republica*, ſtrongly inſiſts, that Iſocrates was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt that introduced into the Greek tongue number, ſweetneſs, and harmony, which before him were little known, and almoſt generally neglected.

It remains for me to explain one more quality of Iſocrates, his love of virtue and good in general, which Quintilian expreſſes, *honeſti ſtudioſus*, and which, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, infinitely exalts him above all the other orators. He runs over his principal diſcourſes to ſhew, that they

they have no other tendency but to inſpire ſtates, princes, and even private perſons, with ſentiments of probity, honour, fidelity, moderation, juſtice, love of the public good, zeal for the preſervation of liberty, and reſpect for the ſanctity of oaths, the faith of treaties, and for all that relates in any manner to religion. He adviſes all thoſe, who have the government of ſtates, and the adminiſtration of public affairs, confided to their care, to read and ſtudy thoſe admirable books with ſingular attention, which contain all the principles of true and ſalutary policy.

## ISÆUS.

ISÆUS was of Chalcis in Eubœa. He went to Athens, and was the pupil of Lyſias, whoſe ſtile he imitated ſo well, that in reading their diſcourſes, it was hard to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. He began to appear with ſplendor after the Peloponneſian war, and lived to the time of Philip. He was Demoſthenes's maſter, who gave him the preference to Iſocrates, becauſe the eloquence of Iſæus was ſtronger, and more vehement than the other's, and for that reaſon ſuited better the warm and vigorous genius of Demoſthenes.

Plut. in Iſoc.

Iſæo torrentior. *Juven.*

## LYCURGUS.

LYCURGUS was highly eſteemed at Athens for his eloquence, and ſtill more for his probity. Several important employments were conferred upon him, in which he always acquitted himſelf with ſucceſs. The civil government of Athens was confided to his care, during which he made ſo ſevere a war upon malefactors, that he obliged them all to quit the city. He paſſed for a ſevere and inexorable judge, to which Cicero alludes in his letter to his friend Atticus: *Noſmetipſi, qui Lycurgei à principio fuiſſemus, quotidie demitigamur.*

Ad Attic. Ep. 13. l. 1.

Lycurgus was appointed quæſtor, that is to ſay, receiver-general of the revenues of the common-

wealth, at three different times, and exerciſed that function during fifteen years. In that time fourteen thouſand talents (about two millions ſterling) paſſed through his hands, of which he gave an exact account. Before him the revenues of the city amounted only to * ſixty talents, and he augmented them to twelve hundred (about three hundred thouſand pounds.) It was this quæſtor, who, ſeeing one of the farmers of the revenue carrying the philoſopher Xenocrates to priſon, becauſe he had not paid a certain tribute as a ſtranger at the time, took him from the officers, and made them carry the farmer thither in his ſtead, for having had the inſolence and cruelty to treat a man of learning in that manner. That action was univerſally applauded. Lycurgus was one of the orators demanded by Alexander of the Athenians, to which they could not conſent.

*Method of ſtudying the Belles Lettres.* Vol. II. *Antient Hiſtory.* Vol. VI.

## ÆSCHINES. DEMOSTHENES.

I have related at large elſewhere the hiſtory of theſe two celebrated orators, who were always each other's rival, and whoſe diſputes did not ceaſe till the baniſhment of Æſchines. I have alſo treated their ſtile and eloquence in the ſame place; and as I have nothing to add to what I have ſaid in reſpect to them, I ſhall content myſelf here with ſetting before the reader their pictures as drawn by Quintilian:

Lib. 10. c. 1. *Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem ſimul Athenis ætas una tulerit; quorum longè princeps Demoſthenes, ac penè lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo, tam denſa omnia, ita quibuſdam nervis † intenta ſunt, tam nihil otioſum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quid deſit in eo, nec quid redundet, invenias. Plenior Æſchines, &*

* *This would be a very ſmall revenue for ſuch a city as Athens, and the augmentation ſurpriſingly conſiderable: wherefore I do not know whether* ἑξακόσια, ſix hundred, *may not be read, inſtead of* ἑξήκοντα, ſixty.

† *The metaphor here is not taken from the nerves of the body, but the ſtrings of a bow, which being drawn to the utmoſt, diſcharge the arrows with extraordinary force and impetuoſity.*

magi

*magis fusus, & grandiori similis, quo minùs strictus est; carnis tamen plus habet, lacertorum minus.* "An infinite number of orators follow, for Athens had "ten at one and the same time; at the head of "these was Demosthenes, who far surpassed them "all, and who deserves to be considered almost as "the rule and standard of eloquence. His stile is "so strong, his sense so close and so home, and "every thing so just, so proper and exact, that no-"thing can be added or retrenched from him. Æs-"chines is more abundant and diffuse. He seems "greater, because more loose, and less collected "in himself; he has however only more flesh with "less nerves."

## HYPERIDES.

HYPERIDES had been at first the hearer and disciple of Plato. He afterwards applied himself to the bar, where his eloquence was admired. * His stile had abundance of sweetness and delicacy, but was fit only for small causes. He was joined with Lycurgus in the administration of the public affairs, when Alexander attacked the Greeks, and always declared openly against that prince. After the loss of the battle of Cranon, the Athenians being upon the point of delivering him up to Antipater, he fled to Ægina, and from thence took refuge in a temple of Neptune, from whence he was taken by force, and carried to Antipater at Corinth, who put him to the most cruel tortures, in order to draw from him some secrets and discoveries he wanted to know. But, lest the violence of the pain should force him to betray his friends and country, he bit off his tongue with his teeth, and expired in the torments. Plut. in Hyper.

* Dulcis imprimis & acutus Hyperides: sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

## DINARCHUS.

Plut. in Dinar.

DINARCHUS, according to ſome, was a native of Corinth, and came to ſettle at Athens when Alexander was purſuing his conqueſts in Aſia. He was the diſciple of Theophraſtus, who had ſucceeded Ariſtotle in his ſchool, and contracted a particular intimacy with Demetrius Phalereus. He did not plead himſelf, but compoſed pleadings for thoſe who had occaſion for them. He made Hyperides his model, or rather, according to others, Demoſthenes, whoſe animated and vehement ſtile ſuited his genius better.

### *Change of eloquence amongſt the Greeks.*

The ſpace of time between Pericles and Demetrius Phalereus, of whom we are going to ſpeak, was the golden age of eloquence amongſt the Greeks, and included about an hundred and thirty years. Before Pericles Greece had produced abundance of great men for government, policy, and war; beſides numbers of excellent philoſophers: but eloquence was very little known there. It was he, as I have already obſerved, who firſt placed it in honour, who demonſtrated its force and power, and introduced the taſte for it. This taſte was not common to all Greece. Is there any mention in thoſe times of any Argive, Corinthian, or Theban orator? It confined itſelf to Athens, that in the interval of which I am ſpeaking, produced the great number of illuſtrious orators, whoſe merit has done it ſo much honour, and has rendered its reputation immortal. All that time may be called the reign of ſolid and true eloquence, which neither knows nor admits any other ornament, but natural beauty without paint. *Hæc ætas effudit hanc copiam; &, ut opino mea fert, ſuccus ille & ſanguis incorruptus uſque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in quo naturalis ineſſet non fucatus nitor.*

Brut. n. 36.

As

As long as Greece propoſed to herſelf theſe great orators for models, and imitated them with fidelity, the taſte of ſound eloquence, that is the manly and the ſolid, ſubſiſted in all its purity. But, after their deaths, when ſhe began inſenſibly to loſe ſight of them, and to follow different tracks, an eloquence of a new kind, more ſet off and embelliſhed, ſucceeeded the antient, and ſoon made it diſappear. Demetrius Phalereus occaſioned this change; of whom it remains for me to ſpeak.

## DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

DEMETRIUS was ſurnamed *Phalereus* from Phalera, one of the ports of Athens, where he was born. The celebrated Theophraſtus was his maſter.

I ſhall not repeat his hiſtory in this place, which is related with ſufficient extent in the VIIth volume. The reader may ſee there that Caſſander, having made himſelf maſter of Athens ſome time after the death of Alexander the Great, confided the government of it to Demetrius, who retained it ten years, and acted with ſo much wiſdom, that the people erected three hundred and ſixty ſtatues in honour of him: in what manner they were afterwards thrown down, and himſelf obliged to retire into Egypt, where Ptolomy Soter received him with great kindneſs: and, laſtly, his impriſonment in the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus, where he died by the bite of an aſp. Art. 1. §. 5. §. 7. Art. 11. §. 3.

I conſider Demetrius Phalereus here only as an orator, and am to ſhew in what manner he contributed to the decline and deſtruction of eloquence at Athens.

I have already ſaid that he had been the diſciple of Theophraſtus, ſo called from his excellent and *divine manner of ſpeaking*. He had acquired under him a florid and elegant ſtile, abounding with ornaments; and had exerciſed himſelf in that kind of eloquence, which is called the *temperate* or *mediate*, which

which keeps the mean between the ſublime and ſimple; admits all the ornaments of art; employs the ſhining graces of elocution and the glitter of thoughts; in a word, which abounds with the ſweet and agreeable, but is void of force and energy, and with all its glow and embelliſhment riſes no higher than mediocrity. Demetrius excelled in this manner of writing, which is highly capable of pleaſing and exciting admiration of itſelf, if not compared with the ſublime kind, the ſolid and majeſtic beauty of which makes the faint luſtre of its ſlight and ſuperficial charms appear like nothing. * It was eaſy to perceive from his flowing, ſweet, agreeable ſtile, that he had been the ſcholar of Theophraſtus. His ſhining expreſſions and happy metaphors, ſays Cicero, were a kind of ſtars, that glittered in his diſcourſe, and made it luminous.

The mind is generally apt enough to be dazzled by this kind of eloquence, which illudes the judgment by pleaſing the imagination. And this happened now at Athens, where † Demetrius was the firſt who ſtruck at the antient ſolid taſte, and began the corruption of eloquence. His ſole view in ſpeaking to the people, was to pleaſe them. He was for ſhewing the mildneſs and benevolence of his diſpoſition, which indeed was his character: but the ſmooth terms and accent, in which he conveyed it, tickled the ears of his auditors without going farther, and only left behind it a pleaſing remembrance of a ſweet and harmonious diſpoſition of ſtudied words and thoughts. It was not like the victorious elo-

* Orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen, ut Theophraſti diſcipulum agnoſceres. *Offic. l.* 1. *n.* 3.

Cujus oratio cùm ſedatè placidèque loquitur, tum illuſtrant eam quaſi ſtellæ quædam tralata verba atque immutata. *Orat. n.* 92.

† Hic primus inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit: & ſuavis, ſicut fuit, videri maluit quàm gravis: ſed ſuavitate ea, qua perfunderet animos, non qua perfringeret; & tantùm ut memoriam concinnitatis ſuæ, non (quemadmodum de Pericle ſcripſit Eupolis) cum delectatione aculeos etiam relinqueret in animis eorum, à quibus eſſet auditus. *Brut. n.* 38.

quence

quence of Pericles, which whilſt it abounded with charms, was armed with thunder and lightning, and left in the mind of the hearer, not only a ſenſe of pleaſure and delight, but a lively impreſſion, a kind of reſiſtleſs impulſe, that reached and engroſſed the heart.

This ſhowy eloquence may ſometimes be applicable on occaſions of pomp and ſplendor, in which no other ends are propoſed, but to pleaſe the auditors, and to diſplay wit, as in the caſe of panegyrics, provided however that wiſe reſtrictions be obſerved, and the liberty allowed to this kind of diſcourſe be kept within juſt bounds. Perhaps alſo this ſpecies of eloquence would have been leſs dangerous, if it had been confined to the private aſſemblies of the rhetoricians and ſophiſts, who admitted only an inconſiderable number of hearers. But that of Demetrius had a far more ample theatre. It appeared before the whole people; ſo that his manner of ſpeaking, if applauded, as it always was, became the rule of the public taſte. No other language was heard at the bar, and the ſchools of rhetoric were obliged to conform to it. All declamations, which were their principal exerciſe, and of which the invention is aſcribed to our Demetrius, were formed upon the ſame plan. In propoſing his ſtile to themſelves, they did not keep within the bounds he had obſerved: for he was excellent in parts, and merited praiſe in many things. But as for them, elocution, thoughts, figures, every thing, as is uſual, were ſtrained and carried to exceſs. This bad taſte made its way with rapidity into the provinces, where it ſtill grew much more corrupt. As ſoon * as eloquence had quitted the Piræus in this condition, and diſperſed itſelf into the iſlands, and over Aſia, it loſt that Attic health and vigour it

* Ut ſemel è Piræeo eloquentia evecta eſt, omnes peregravit inſulas, atque ita peregrinata tota Aſia eſt, ut ſe externis oblineret moribus, omnemque illam ſalubritatem Atticæ dictionis quaſi ſanitatem perderet, ac loqui pene dediſceret. *Brut. n.* 51.

had

had preſerved ſo long at home, aſſumed the manners of ſtrangers, and almoſt unlearned to ſpeak; ſo great and precipitate was its decline. We have this deſcription of it from Cicero.

The ruin of liberty at Athens partly conduced to haſten that of eloquence. The great men, who had done it ſo much honour by the talent of ſpeaking, appeared there no more. Only ſome rhetoricians and ſophiſts, diſperſed in the ſeveral parts of Greece and Aſia, ſupported in ſome ſmall degree its antient reputation. I have ſpoken of them elſewhere.

But what is moſt ſurpriſing, ſome ages after, eloquence reſumed new force, and appeared again with almoſt as much ſplendor as of old at Athens. It is plain that I mean thoſe happy times in which the Greek fathers made ſo laudable and holy an uſe of this talent. For I am not afraid to compare St. Baſil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chryſoſtom, and ſome others, with the moſt celebrated orators of Athens. I have inſerted ſeveral extracts from them in the ſecond volume of the treatiſe upon ſtudy, eſpecially from St. Chryſoſtom, which in my opinion are not inferior to the orations of Demoſthenes, either in beauty of ſtile, ſolidity of argument, greatneſs of matter, or force and vehemence of paſſions. The reader may conſult thoſe paſſages, which diſpenſes with my giving new proofs of what I advance here; and I believe he will agree with me, that there is nothing finer or more eloquent to be found in all the writings of antient Greece.

We ſhall ſoon ſee that the Latin eloquence has not the ſame good fortune. As ſoon as it began to decline, after having ſhone out with extraordinary luſtre for ſome years, it continually languiſhed, and ſunk by degrees ſufficiently rapid, till it fell at laſt into a ſtate of corruption, from which it has never ſince raiſed itſelf. And this is what I am to ſhew in the following article.

ARTI-

## ARTICLE II.

## OF THE LATIN ORATORS.

ROME, intent at firſt upon ſtrengthening herſelf in her new eſtabliſhment, then upon extending her dominions continually around her, and afterwards on puſhing her conqueſts into remote regions, devoted her whole care and application for many ages to military exerciſes, and continued during all that time without taſte for the arts and ſciences in general, and in particular for eloquence, of which ſhe had hitherto ſcarce any idea. * It was not till after ſhe had ſubjected the moſt powerful nations, and eſtabliſhed herſelf in peace and tranquillity, that her commerce with the Greeks began to reform her groſſneſs and kind of barbarity in reſpect to the exerciſes of the mind. The Roman youth, who ſeemed then to awake out of a profound ſleep, became ſenſible to a new ſpecies of glory unknown to their anceſtors, and began to open their eyes, and conceive a taſte for eloquence.

In order to give ſome idea of the beginning, progreſs, perfection, and decline of eloquence, I ſhall divide the Roman orators into four ages, but ſhall expatiate only upon ſuch of them as are moſt known either by their works or reputation.

### SECT. I.

*Firſt age of the Roman Orators.*

THE Romans, in the arms of peace, friend of ſcience, and mother of leiſure, made at firſt ſome efforts for the attainment of eloquence.

* Poſtea quàm imperio omnium gentium conſtituto, diuturnitas pacis otium confirmavit, nemo fere laudis cupidus adoleſcens non ſibi ad dicendum ſtudio omni enitendum putavit. *Lib.* 1. *de Orat. n.* 14.

* But

*But, as they were entirely ignorant of the means it was neceſſary to uſe for acquiring it, and had no other guide but their own reaſon and reflections, they made but little progreſs. * It was neceſſary to call in conquered Greece to the aid of her victors. As ſoon as the Grecian rhetoricians had been heard at Rome, had taught there, and their books began to be read, the Roman youth conceived an incredible ardour for eloquence. We have ſeen elſewhere what difficulties it met with on its firſt entrance into Rome, and what obſtacles it had to ſurmount for eſtabliſhing itſelf there. But it is of the nature of eloquence to conquer oppoſition, and to force the barriers laid in its way. It got the better at Rome, notwithſtanding the endeavours of Cato, who, though a great orator himſelf, was againſt the people's devoting themſelves too much to the arts of Greece; and in a ſhort time became the reigning ſtudy there. The greateſt men afterwards, as Scipio and Lælius, had always learned Greeks about them, from whom they made it their glory to receive leſſons.

*Antient Hiſtory*, Vol. I. Part 2.

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 155.

To proceed to the orators of the firſt age, the moſt known are Cato the Cenſor, the Gracchi, Scipio Æmilianus, and Lælius. They had excellent natural parts, a wonderful fund of wit, great order in their diſcourſe, force in their proofs, ſolidity in their thoughts, and energy: but neither art, delicacy, grace, care in the arrangement of words, nor knowledge of the numbers and harmony of ſpeech.

Cic. in Brut. n. 65.

CATO had compoſed an infinite number of orations. More than an hundred and fifty of them were extant in Cicero's time: but they were not

* Ac primò quidem totius rationis ignari, qui neque exercitationis ullam viam, neque aliquod præceptum artis eſſe arbitrarentur, tantum, quantum ingenio & cogitatione poterant, conſequebantur. Poſt autem, auditis oratoribus Græcis, cognitiſque eorum literis, adhibitiſque doctoribus, incredibili quodam noſtri homines dicendi ſtudio flagraverunt. *Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 14.*

read.

read. * He affirms however that his eloquence wants only thoſe lively figures, and glowing colours, which were not known in his time.

The GRACCHI diſtinguiſhed themſelves alſo by an eloquence manly and vigorous, but void of ornaments. Cicero has preſerved ſome lines of a diſcourſe ſpoken by young Gracchus after his brother's death, which are very lively and pathetic, and which he has imitated himſelf in the peroration of his defence of Murena: *Quò me miſer conferam? quò vertam? In capitoliumne? at fratris ſanguine redundat. An domum? matremne ut miſeram lamentantemque videam, & abjectam?* "Where ſhall I go, whither ſhall "I turn myſelf, miſerable as I am? Shall it be to "the capitol? but that ſtill reeks with my brother's "blood. Shall I go home? what, to behold my "mother's ſorrow, to hear her mourn, and ſee her "lying inconſolable on the ground?" If the reſt of his diſcourſe reſembled theſe few lines, it did not give place in any thing to thoſe of Cicero. † In pronouncing them, every thing ſpoke in him, his eyes, voice, geſture; ſo that his enemies themſelves could not refrain from tears. Aulus Gellius has preſerved two fragments of the diſcourſe of C. Gracchus, which are not of the ſame taſte with that cited by Cicero. They are elegant, but cold, though the ſubject is weighty and affecting. It was the ſame Gracchus who had always a ſlave behind him with a flute, to give him notice when to raiſe or lower his voice.

Lib. 3. de Orat. n. 215.

Lib. 10. c. 3.

Quintilian frequently oppoſes the ſtile of the age we ſpeak of to that of his own times, and gives an excellent precept on that head. "Youth‡, ſays he, "have

* Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis niſi eorum pigmentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem & colorem defuiſſe. *Brut. n.* 298.

† Quæ ſic ab illo acta eſſe conſtabat, oculis, voce, geſtu, inimici ut lacrymas tenere non poſſent. *Brut. n.* 298.

‡ Duo genera maximè cavenda pueris puto. Unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catoniſque, & aliorum ſimilium lectione durescere velit: fient enim horridi & jejuni.—— Alterum

"have two great faults to ſhun. The firſt would "be, if, upon the recommendation of any exceſſive "admirer of the antients, they ſhould ſtudy and "imitate the orations of Cato, the Gracchi, and "the like authors; for that would render their ſtile "ſtiff, dry, and rugged. The oppoſite fault is "their being charmed with the glittering pretti-"neſs, the finery of the ſoft effeminate ſtile now in "faſhion, and ſpoiling their taſte by a fondneſs for "a gaudy luſcious kind of eloquence, the more "dangerous for them, as the more grateful to their "age and character. But, when their judgment is "formed, and they are ſafe on that ſide, I would "adviſe them, continues he, to read the antients, "whoſe ſtrong and manly eloquence, when ſe-"rated from the rudeneſs and inelegance of the "groſs age in which they lived, will ſuſtain, and "even exalt, the beauties and ornaments of ours. "I would alſo exhort them to ſtudy the moderns "attentively, who are excellent in parts, and may "be of great uſe to them."

I thought this paſſage of Quintilian proper in this place for explaining the ſtile of the times in queſtion: beſides which it includes very judicious advice, that the youth of the preſent age may alſo apply to their advantage.

I ſhall not enter into the character of the eloquence of Scipio and Lælius, and aſſure myſelf, that, though it ſavoured of the age they lived in, it was far from the roughneſs of Cato's and the Gracchi. I ſhall only relate here a fact highly for the honour of Lælius, and which ſhews how far he carried his candour and integrity. He had taken upon him the care of a very important cauſe, and

Brut. n. 85. —88.

Alterum quod huic diverſum eſt, ne recentis hujus laſciviæ floſculis capti, voluptate quadam prava deliniantur ut prædulce illud genus, & puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius eſt, adament. Firmis autem judiciis, jamque extra periculum poſitis, ſuaſerim & antiquos legere, ex quibus ſi aſſumatur ſolida ac virilis ingenii vis, deterſo rudis ſeculi ſqualore, tum noſter hic cultus clariùs eniteſcet; & novos, quibus & ipſis multa virtus adeſt. *Quintil. l.* 2. *c.* 6.

pleaded

pleaded it with abundance of eloquence. The judges however did not think his arguments ſufficient to determine their ſentence, and referred it to another hearing. Lælius laboured it anew, and pleaded it a ſecond time, but with the ſame ſucceſs as before. Upon which, without farther delay, he obliged his clients to put their cauſe into the hands of Galba, a famous orator of thoſe times, who was more vehement and pathetic than him. It was not without great difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to undertake it; however he carried it unanimouſly by his firſt pleading. "It was then, as in all other "things, the better and more humane cuſtom, ſays "Cicero, to be eaſy in doing juſtice to the merit of "others, though at one's own expence:" *Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, ſic in hoc ipſo humanior: ut faciles eſſent in ſuum cuique tribuendo.*

## SECT. II.

### *Second age of the Roman orators.*

I Shall place four orators in this ſecond age; Antony and Craſſus, more advanced in years; and Cotta and Sulpitius, younger men. They are hardly known by any thing but what Cicero tells us of them in his books of rhetoric. He * obſerves it was under the two firſt that the Roman eloquence, having attained a kind of maturity, began to be capable of entering the liſts with that of the Greeks.

ANTONY, in his voyage to Cilicia, whither he went proconſul, ſtopped for ſome time at Athens and in the iſland of Rhodes upon different pretexts, but in reality for the opportunity of converſing with the moſt able rhetoricians, and in order to improve himſelf in eloquence by their inſtructions. He however always affected from thenceforth to ap- Lib. 1. de Orat. n. 8. Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 3. Ibid. n. 153.

* Quod idcirco poſui, ut dicendi Latinè prima maturitas in qua ætate extitiſſet, poſſet animadverti. *Cic. in Brut.* n. 161.

Ego ſic exiſtimo—in his primùm cum Græcorum gloria Latinè dicendi copiam æquatam. *Ib.* n. 138.

pear of ignorant of what the Greeks taught in reſpect to the art of ſpeaking, with the view of rendering his eloquence thereby the leſs ſuſpected. And * he accordingly was generally ſuppoſed by his hearers to come to the bar, and to plead his cauſes, almoſt without preparation. But, in reality, he was ſo well prepared, that the judges were often not enough ſo in their diſtruſt of him. Nothing for the ſucceſs of his cauſe eſcaped him. He knew how to diſpoſe every proof in the place where it made moſt impreſſion. He was leſs attentive to the delicacy and elegance of his terms, than to their force and energy. He ſeemed to regard only things in themſelves and right reaſon: in a word, he had all the great qualities of an orator, and ſupported them wonderfully by the force and dignity of his utterance.

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 197—203.

In the ſecond book of the Orator he traces the plan himſelf of an oration which he pronounced in defence of Norbanus, who was juſtly proſecuted as the author of a ſedition: a cauſe, as it is eaſy to conceive, of a very tender and difficult nature. He treated it with ſuch art, force, and eloquence, as wreſted the criminal from the ſeverity of the judges: and he confeſſes himſelf, that he carried his cauſe leſs by the ſtrength of reaſon, than the vehemence of the paſſions he knew how to introduce with judgment. *Ita magis affectis animis Judicum, quàm doctis, tua, Sulpiti, eſt à nobis tum accuſatio victa.* Sulpitius, the advocate on the other ſide, had notwithſtanding left the judges perfectly convinced of the juſtice of his cauſe, and highly incenſed againſt Norbanus: *Cùm tibi ego, non judicium, ſed incendium tradidiſſem.* Nothing is more capable of forming young pleaders than the plan of this harangue: but

* Erat memoria ſumma, nulla meditationis ſuſpicio. Imparatus ſemper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur: ſed ita erat paratus, ut Judices, illo dicente, nonnunquam viderentur non ſatis parati ad cavendum fuiſſe. *Brut.* n. 139.

they

they ought not to imitate the uſe Antony made at that time of his talents for ſaving a criminal from the puniſhment he deſerved.

Crassus was the only orator that could be ranked with Antony, and ſome give him the preference to the other. He was but three years younger than him. His peculiar character was * an air of gravity and dignity, which he knew how to temper with an inſinuating politeneſs, and even refined pleaſantry and raillery, that never forgot the decency of the orator. His language was pure and correct with elegance, but eaſy and void of affectation. He explained himſelf with wonderful clearneſs, and exalted the beauty of his diſcourſe by the ſtrength of his proofs, and agreeable alluſions and ſimilitudes. Brut. n. 143.

When Craſſus had to do with perſons of merit and reputation, he took care to proceed with tenderneſs and reſerve, and employed no raillery in reſpect to them that could ſhock or offend: *in quo genere nulli aculei contumeliarum inerant.* † A moderation very extraordinary in thoſe who value themſelves upon pleaſantry, and who find it very hard to keep in a ſmart ſaying when it comes uppermoſt, and which they think it for their honour to vent. But he behaved differently in reſpect to ſuch as gave room for it by their bad conduct. One Brutus, of whom I am going to ſpeak, was of this number. He had taken up the buſineſs of an accuſer for the ſake of the rewards granted by the laws to ſuch as convicted criminals: a calling which was looked upon at Rome as highly unworthy of a man of condition and probity, though a young man was approved there for making himſelf known by accuſing

* Erat ſumma gravitas: erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum & urbanitatis oratorius non ſcurrilis lepos. Latinè loquendi accurata & ſine moleſtiâ diligens elegantia, &c.

† Quod eſt hominibus facetis & dicacibus difficillimum, habere hominum rationem & temporum, & ea, quæ occurrant, cùm falſiſſime dici poſſunt, tenere. 2. *de Orat.* n. 221.

ſome perſon of importance. This Brutus was univerſally ſcandalous as a prodigal who had ſquandered his eſtate in exceſſes and debauchery. Pleading one day againſt Craſſus, he cauſed two ſpeeches of that orator to be read, in which he had manifeſtly contradicted himſelf. Craſſus was highly nettled, and knew well how to be even with him. For that purpoſe he cauſed three dialogues of Brutus's father to be read alſo, in each of which, according to a cuſtom common enough, mention was made in the beginning of the country-houſe where the converſation was ſuppoſed to be held. After having by this method introduced the names and reality of three eſtates which his father had left him, he [illegible] him with bitter reproaches what was become of them. An * accidental circumſtance gave Craſſus occaſion to treat him in the ſame cauſe with a quite different force and vivacity, and to unite the moſt ſevere invectives with raillery. Whilſt they were pleading in the forum, where every body knows all great cauſes were tried, the funeral proceſſion of a Roman lady paſſed by, at the head of which, according to the ceremonies practiſed on ſuch occaſions at Rome, the images of her anceſtors were carried: ſhe was of the family of the *Junii*, of

* Quis eſt qui non fateatur, hoc lepore atque iis facetiis non minus refutatum eſſe Brutum, quam illis tragœdiis, quas egit idem, cum caſu in eadem cauſa cum funere efferretur anus Junia? Proh dii immortales! Quæ fuit illa, quanta vis, quam inexpectata, quam repentina! cum, conjectis oculis, geſtu omni imminente, ſumma gravitate & celeritate verborum: *Brute, quid ſedes? Quid illam avum patri nunciare vis tuo? Quid illis omnibus, quorum imagines duci vides? Quid Lucio Bruto, qui hunc populum dominatu regio liberavit? Quid te facere? Cui rei, cui gloriæ, cui virtuti ſtudere? Patrimonium augendo? At id non eſt nobilitatis. Sed fac eſſe. Nihil ſupereſt? libidines totum diſſipaverunt. An juri civili? Eſt paternum. Sed &c.——An rei militari, qui nunquam caſtra videris? An eloquentiæ, quæ nulla eſt in te, & quicquid eſt vocis ac linguæ, omne in iſtum turpiſſimum calumniæ quæſtum contuliſti? Tu lucem aſpicere audes? Tu hos intueri? Tu in foro, tu in urbe, tu in civium eſſe conſpectu? Tu illam mortuam, tu imagines ipſas non perhorreſcis: quibus non modo imitandis, ſed ne collocandis quidem tibi nullum locum reliquiſti?* Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 223—226.

which

which that of Brutus was a branch. Upon this unexpected ſight, Craſſus, as if tranſported with a ſudden enthuſiaſm, fixing his eyes on Brutus, with the moſt animated voice and geſture: "Why do "you ſit, Brutus? ſaid he, What news would you "have this good old lady carry to your father, "and to thoſe great men, whoſe images you ſee "borne before her? What ſhall ſhe ſay of you to "your anceſtors, and particularly to Lucius Brutus, "who delivered this people from the tyranny of "kings? What ſhall ſhe tell them you do? What "buſineſs, what glory, what virtue ſhall ſhe ſay you "ſtudy? Is it to increaſe your patrimony? That "would not ſuit your birth; beſides your debauches "have entirely eaten up that. Is it the civil law? "Your father's example might induce you to it; "but of that you don't ſo much as know the moſt "common principles. Is war your ſtudy? No, "you never ſaw a camp. Or eloquence? Of that "too you know nothing: and as for the volubility "of your tongue and the ſtrength of your lungs, "you devote them wholly in this place to the vile "and execrable traffic of gain by calumnies. And "do you dare to ſee the ſun? To look the judges "in the face, to appear at the bar, in the forum, "the city, and in the ſight of the people? Are "you not ſtruck with ſhame and horror at this pro-"ceſſion, that deceaſed lady and thoſe venerable "images, whoſe glory you diſhonour ſo much by "your infamous practices?" A paſſage like this ſuffices to ſhew us what we are to judge of the character and merit of Craſſus's eloquence.

To this rare talent he added great knowledge of the civil law; in which however Scævola far exceeded him. He was the moſt learned civilian, and one of the moſt celebrated orators of his time. They * were both almoſt of the ſame age, had paſſed through

* Illud gaudeo, quòd & æqualitas veſtra, & pares honorum gradus, & artium ſtudiorumque quaſi finitima vicinitas, tantum abeſt

through the ſame dignities, and applied themſelves to the ſame functions and ſtudies. This reſemblance, and kind of equality, far from exciting the leaſt thought of jealouſy, as it often happens, and from making the leaſt change whatſoever in their friendſhip, only ſerved to improve and augment it.

I ſhall ſay only a few words of the two young orators, Cotta and Sulpitius, who at this time made a ſhining figure at the bar. The character of their eloquence was quite different.

COTTA's * invention was penetrating and acute: his elocution pure and flowing. As the weakneſs of his lungs obliged him to avoid all violent exertions of voice, he took care to adapt his ſtile and manner of compoſing to the infirmity of his organs. Every thing in it was juſt, neat, and ſtrong. But what was moſt admirable in him, as he could make no very great uſe of the vehement and impetuous ſtile, and conſequently could not influence the judges by the vigour of his diſcourſe; he had however the addreſs, in treating his matter, to produce the ſame effect upon them by his calm and compoſed manner, as Sulpitius by his ardent and animated eloquence.

The ſtile of SULPITIUS, on the contrary, was † lofty, vehement, and, to uſe the expreſſion, tragical. His

ab obtrectatione invidiæ, quæ ſolet lacerare pleroſque, uti ea non modò non exulcerare veſtram gratiam, ſed etiam conciliare videatur. *Brut.* n. 156.

* Inveniebat igitur acutè Cotta, dicebat purè ac ſolutè: & ut ad infirmitatem laterum perſcienter contentionem omnem remiſerat, ſic ad virium imbecillitatem dicendi accommodabat genus. Nihil erat in ejus oratione niſi ſincerum, nihil niſi ſiccum, atque ſanum: illudque maximum, quòd, cum contentione orationis flectere animos Judicum vix poſſet, nec omnino eo genere diceret, tractando tamen impellebat, ut idem facerent à ſe commoti, quod à Sulpitio concitati. *Brut.* n. 202.

† Fuit enim Sulpitius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis, &, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cum magna, tum ſuavis & ſplendida: geſtus & motus corporis ita venuſtus, ut tamen ad forum non ad ſcenam inſtitutus videretur. Incitata & volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio,

His voice was ſtrong, ſweet, and clear; the geſture and motion of his body extremely graceful and agreeable; but that grace of action ſuited the bar, not the ſtage. His diſcourſe was rapid and abundant, but without any vicious redundance or ſuperfluity. Sulpitius made Craſſus his model; Cotta was better pleaſed with Antony. But the latter had neither Antony's force, nor the former Craſſus's pleaſantry.

There was a remarkable difference between Cotta and Sulpitius. The latter was cut off in his youth, whereas Cotta lived to an advanced age, was conſul, and pleaded with Hortenſius, who was however much younger than him.

The example of Cotta and Sulpitius ſhews, that two orators may both be excellent without reſembling each other; and that the important point is to diſcern aright, to what nature or genius inclines us, and to take her for our guide. Theſe had the good fortune to find two great maſters and moſt friendly guides in Antony and Craſſus, who ſpared no pains, and made it their pleaſure, to form them for eloquence.

## SECT. III.

### *Third age of the Roman orators.*

THIS is the golden age of the Roman eloquence, which was of ſhort duration, but ſhone out with great luſtre, and almoſt equalled Rome with Athens. It produced a great number of excellent orators, Hortenſius, Cæſar, who would have been an orator of the firſt claſs, if he had kept to the bar; Brutus, Meſſala, and many others, who all acquired great reputation amongſt the Romans, though their orations are not come down to us. But Cicero obſcures the glory of all the reſt, and

tio. Craſſum hic volebat imitari, Cotta malebat Antonium. Sed ab hoc vis aberat Antonii, Craſſi ab illo lepos. *Ibid.* n. 203.

may be conſidered as the moſt perfect model of the Roman eloquence that ever appeared in the world. I muſt deſire the reader's permiſſion for referring him to the treatiſe upon ſtudy, where I have expatiated largely upon Cicero, and the character of his eloquence, of which, for that reaſon, there remains little for me to ſay.

Vol. II.

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 2.

He was indebted to nature for an happy genius, which his father took care to cultivate in a particular manner, under the direction of Craſſus, who laid down the plan of his ſtudies. He had the moſt able maſters of thoſe times at Rome, and went afterwards into Greece and Aſia minor, to learn the precepts of Oratory at their ſource.

His brother * Quintus believed, that nature alone, with the aid of frequent exerciſe, ſufficed to form the orator. Cicero was of a very different opinion, and was convinced, that the talent of ſpeaking could only be acquired by a vaſt extent of erudition. Accordingly, perſuaded that, without the moſt tenacious application, and an ardor that roſe almoſt to paſſion, nothing great could be attained, he devoted himſelf wholly to laborious ſtudy. The fruits of it ſoon appeared, and, from his firſt ſhewing himſelf at the bar, he was diſtinguiſhed by univerſal applauſe.

He had a fertile, warm, and ſhining wit; a rich and lively imagination; a poliſhed, florid, abundant, and luxuriant ſtile; which laſt quality is no fault in a young orator. Every body knows, that Cicero, when maſter of the art, in laying down rules, is for having youth diſplay fertility and abundance in their compoſitions: *Volo ſe efferat in adoleſcente fœcunditas.* Quintilian † often and ſtrongly recommends to maſ-

Lib. 2. de Orat. n. 88.

ters,

* Soles nonnunquam hac de re à me in diſputationibus noſtris diſſentire, quod ego eruditiſſimorum hominum artibus eloquentiam contineri ſtatuam; tu autem illam ab elegantia doctrinæ ſegregandam putes, & in quodam ingenii atque exercitationis genere ponendam. *Lib. 1. de Orat.* n. 5.

† In pueris oratio perfecta nec exigi nec ſperari poteſt: melior autem eſt indoles læta generoſique conatûs, & vel plura concipiens interim

ters, not to expect or require finiſhed and perfect diſcourſes from their diſciples. He prefers a bold freedom in their exerciſes, which grows wanton whilſt it makes efforts, and exceeds the bounds of the exact and the juſt. It is eaſy to correct abundance, but there is no curing ſterility.

Cicero himſelf cites an example of this luxuriant and too florid ſtile from his own defence of Roſcius Amerinus, who was accuſed of parricide. In a great common-place upon parricide, after having deſcribed the puniſhment eſtabliſhed by the Roman laws for ſuch as were convicted of it, which was to ſow them up in a leathern bag, with a dog, a cock, a ſerpent, and an ape, and to throw them into the ſea, he adds the following reflection, to ſhew the enormity of the crime by the ſingularity of the puniſhment, the choice of which ſeems to have had in view the excluding of an ungrateful wretch from the uſe of all nature, who had been ſo unnatural to deprive his father of life: *Quid eſt tam commune, quam ſpiritus vivis, terra mortuis, mare fluctuantibus, littus ejectis? Ita vivunt, dum poſſunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant: ita moriuntur, ut eorum oſſa terra non tangat: ita jactantur fluctibus, ut nunquam abluantur: ita poſtremò ejiciuntur, ut ne ad ſaxa quidem mortui conquieſcant, &c.* "What is "there ſo common as the air we breathe to the "living, the earth to the dead, the water to thoſe "who go by ſea, and the ſhore to thoſe who are "driven by the waves. By the invention of this "puniſhment, theſe unhappy wretches, during "the ſhort time they retain life in it, live without "power to reſpire the air, and die in ſuch a manner, that their bones cannot touch the earth: "they are toſſed to and fro in the waves, without "being waſhed by them; and are driven againſt

In Orat. n. 107, 108

Pro Roſc. Amer. n. 75.

interim ſpiritus—Facile remedium eſt ubertatis: ſterilia nullo labore vincuntur. *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 4.

"the

" the rocks and ſhores, ſo as never to reſt or lie " ſtill even in death."

The whole * paſſage upon the puniſhment of parricides, and eſpecially that part of it juſt quoted, was received with extraordinary applauſe. But Cicero, ſome time after, began to perceive, that this common-place favoured too much of the young man (he was then twenty-ſeven years old) and that if he had been applauded, it was leſs from any real beauty in the paſſage, than the hopes and promiſe he then gave of his future merit. And indeed this paſſage has nothing in it but a glitter without ſolidity, which dazzles for a moment, but will not bear the leaſt ſerious examination. The thoughts are far-fetched and unnatural, with a ſtudied affectation of Antitheſis and Contraſt,

In Brut. n. 316. Cicero very much reformed his taſte, and, after going to Athens, and into Aſia minor, where, as celebrated as he was for pleading, he became the diſciple of the learned rhetoricians who taught there, he returned to Rome almoſt entirely changed from what he was when he left it. † Molo the Rhodian in particular was of great uſe to him, in teaching him to retrench the ſuperfluity and redundance that proceeded from the warmth and vivacity of his years, and in accuſtoming him to a leſs diffuſed ſtile, to keep within juſt bounds, and to give his diſcourſe more weight and maturity.

Belles Lettres, Vol. 2. The emulation excited in him by the great ſucceſs of his friend, but rival, Hortenſius, was of infinite ſervice to him. I have ſpoken of it elſewhere with ſufficient extent. He ſeems from thenceforth to

* Quantis illa clamoribus adoleſcentuli diximus de ſupplicio parricidarum! quæ nequaquam ſatis deferbuiſſe pòſt aliquando ſentire cœpimus. Sunt enim omnia ſicut adoleſcentis, non tam re & maturitate quam ſpe & expectatione laudati.

† Molo dedit operam, ſi modò id conſequi potuit, ut nimis redundantes nos & ſuperfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate reprimeret, & quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me, biennio pòſt, non modò exercitatior, ſed propè mutatus.

have

have formed the deſign of carrying from Greece, or at leaſt of diſputing with her, the glory of eloquence. He exerted himſelf in every branch of it courageouſly, without neglecting one. The ſimple, the florid, and the ſublime ſtiles became equally familiar to him; and he has given us the moſt finiſhed models in thoſe three ſpecies of eloquence. He mentions ſeveral * places in his treatiſe *De Oratore*, where he had employed thoſe different kinds of ſtile; and ingenuouſly confeſſes, that, if he has not attained perfection in them, he has at leaſt attempted and ſhadowed it. Nobody knew the heart of man better than him, nor ſucceeded better in moving the ſprings of it, † whether he inſinuates into his hearer's favour by the ſoft and tender paſſions, or uſes thoſe which require bold figures, vehemence, and all that eloquence has of ſtrongeſt and moſt affecting. To be convinced of this, the reader has only to conſult his perorations. When ‡ pleadings were divided, this laſt part was always left to him, in which he never failed to ſucceed in a peculiar manner; not, ſays he, that he had more wit than others, but becauſe he was more moved and affected himſelf, without which his diſcourſe would not have been capable of moving and affecting the judges.

It was this admirable ‖ union and application of all the different qualities of the orator that occa-

* Nulla eſt ullo in genere laus oratoris, cujus in noſtris orationibus non ſit aliqua, ſi non perfectio, at conatus tamen atque adumbratio. Non aſſequimur, at, quid deceat, videmus. *Orat.* n. 103.

† Hujus eloquentiæ eſt tractare animos, hujus omni modo permovere. Hæc modò perſtringit, modò irrepit in ſenſus: inſerit novas opiniones, evellit inſitas. *Orat.* n. 97.

‡ Si plures dicebamus, perorationem mihi tamen omnes relinquebant: in quo ut viderer excellere, non ingenio ſed dolore aſſequebar——nec unquam is qui audiret incenderetur, niſi ardens ad eum perveniret oratio. *Orat.* n. 130, 132.

‖ Jejunas hujus multiplicis & equabiliter in omnia genera fuſæ orationis aures civitatis accepimus, eaſque nos primi, quicumque ſtamus, & quantulumcumque dicebamus, ad hujus generis dicendi, audiendi, incredibilia ſtudia convertimus. *Orat.* n. 106.

Propter exquiſitius & minimè vulgare orationis genus, animos hominum ad me dicendi novitate converteram. *Brut.* n. 321.

ſioned

ſioned the rapid ſucceſs of Cicero's pleadings. He owns himſelf, that Rome had never ſeen or heard any thing of the like nature before; and that this new ſpecies of eloquence charmed the hearers, and carried off all ſuffrages. That of the antients, as I have obſerved before, had abundance of ſolidity, but was entirely void of grace and ornament. *Rome, which to their time had neither literature nor delicacy of ear, ſuffered, and even went ſo far as to admire, them. Hortenſius had begun to throw graces into diſcourſe. But, beſides his negligence in that reſpect at length, from his being contented with, and ſecure, as he thought, of, his reputation, the ornaments he uſed conſiſted rather in words and turns of phraſe than thoughts, and had more elegance than real beauty.

Cicero induſtriouſly gave eloquence all the graces of which it was ſuſceptible, but without leſſening the ſolidity and gravity of diſcourſe. He departed a little in this from the method of Demoſthenes, who, ſolely attentive to things in themſelves, and not in the leaſt to his own reputation, goes on directly to the end in view, and neglects every thing merely ornamental. †Our orator thought himſelf obliged to comply in ſome meaſure with the taſte of his times, and the delicacy of the Romans, which required a more pleaſing and florid ſtile. He never loſt ſight of the public utility, but was ſtudious at the ſame time of pleaſing the judges; and in this he ſaid he ſerved his country more effectually: for his diſcourſe, in being agreeable, was neceſſarily the

* Erant, nondum tritis hominum auribus & erudita civitate, tolerabiles. *Brut.* n. 124.

† Ne illis quidem nimiùm repugno, qui dandum putant nonnihil eſſe temporibus atque auribus, nitidius aliquid atque affectatius poſtulantibus——Atque id feciſſe M. Tullium video, ut cùm omnia utilitati, tum partem quandam delectationi daret: cùm & ipſam rem agere diceret (agebat autem maximè) litigatoris. Nam hoc ipſo proderat, quòd placebat. *Quintil.* l. 12. c. 10.

more

more perſuaſive. * This beauty, this charm of ſtile, diffuſed throughout the orations of Cicero, made him ſeem to obtain that by gentle means, which he actually ſeized by force; whilſt the judges, who conceived they did no more than follow him of their own accord, were borne away by *bright illuſion* and imperious vehemence.

He alſo inriched the Roman eloquence with another advantage, which highly exalted its value: I mean the diſpoſition of words, which conduces infinitely to the beauty of diſcourſe. † For the moſt agreeable and moſt ſolid thoughts, if the terms in which they are expreſſed want arrangement and numeroſity, offend the ear, of which the ſenſe is exceedingly delicate. The ‡ Greeks had been almoſt four hundred years in poſſeſſion of this kind of beauty in the admirable works of their writers, who had carried the ſweetneſs and harmony of diſpoſition to its higheſt perfection. I have obſerved in the beginning of this volume, in what manner Cicero acquired the Roman language this improvement.

As much muſt be ſaid of all the other parts of eloquence, ‖ of which he either gave the Romans the firſt knowledge, or at leaſt carried them to their higheſt perfection: and in this Cæſar had reaſon to ſay, that Cicero had rendered his country great ſervice. For by his means Rome, which gave place to Greece only in this kind of glory, deprived her

* Cui tanta unquam jucunditas affuit? Ut ipſa illa quæ extorquet, impetrare eum credas; &, cùm tranſverſum vi ſua Judicem ferat, tamen ille non rapi videatur, ſed ſequi. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

† Quamvis graves ſuaveſque ſententiæ, tamen ſi inconditis verbis efferuntur, offendunt aures, quarum eſt judicium ſuperbiſſimum. *Orat.* n. 150.

‡ Et apud Græcos quidem jam anni prope quadringenti, cum hoc (numerus) probatur: nos nuper agnovimus. *Orat.* n. 171.

‖ Cæſar Tullium, non ſolùm principem atque inventorem copiæ dixit, quæ erat magna laus; ſed etiam bene meritum de populi Romani nomine & dignitate. Quo enim uno vincebamur à victa Græcia, id aut ereptum illis eſt, aut certè nobis cum illis communicatum. *Brut.* n. 254.

of

of it, or, perhaps, roſe to the point of dividing it with her.

Cicero in conſequence may truly be ſaid to be, in reſpect to Rome, what Demoſthenes had before been to Athens: that is to ſay, that each on his ſide carried eloquence to the higheſt perfection it ever attained.

## SECT. IV.

### *Fourth age of the Roman orators.*

IT is the uſual lot of human things, when they have attained their higheſt perfection, to decline ſoon, and to degenerate ever after. Eloquence, as well as hiſtory and poetry, experienced this ſad fatality at Rome. Some few years after the death of Auguſtus, that region, ſo fertile of fine works and noble productions, *bore no more of thoſe excellent fruits, which had done it ſo much honour; and as if it had been univerſally blaſted, that bloom of Roman urbanity, that is to ſay, the extreme delicacy of taſte, which prevailed in all works of wit and learning, withered and diſappeared almoſt on a ſudden.

A man highly eſtimable in other reſpects for his fine genius, rare talents, and learned works, occaſioned this change in eloquence: it is eaſy to perceive that I mean SENECA. A too great eſteem for himſelf, a kind of jealouſy for the great men who had appeared before him, a violent deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf, and to uſe the expreſſion, of forming a ſect, and being the leader for others to follow, made him quit the uſual track, and throw himſelf into paths that were new and unknown to the antients.

The beſt things are abuſed, and even virtues themſelves become vices when exceſſive and carried

* Omnis fœtus repreſſus, exuſtuſque flos ſiti veteris ubertatis exaruit. *Brut.* n. 16.

too

too far. The graces with which Cicero had embelliſhed and inriched the Roman eloquence, were diſpenſed ſoberly and with great judgment: but Seneca laviſhed them without diſcretion or meaſure. In the writings of the firſt, the ornaments were grave, manly, majeſtic, and proper for exalting the dignity of a queen: in thoſe of the ſecond, one might almoſt term them the finery of a Courtezan, which, far from adding new luſtre to the natural beauty of eloquence, by the profuſion of pearls and gems, diſguiſed and made it diſappear. For the ſoil of Seneca is admirable. No antient author has either ſo many, ſo fine, or ſo ſolid thoughts as him. But he ſpoils them by the turn he gives them, by the antitheſes and quibbles with which they are uſually larded, by an exceſſive affectation of ending almoſt every period with an epigrammatic point, or a kind of glittering thought, a conceit very like it. This made Quintilian ſay it were to be wiſhed, Lib. 1. c. 1. that Seneca in compoſing had uſed his own genius, but another's judgment. *Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe, alieno judicio.* What I have obſerved of him Belles elſewhere, with great extent, diſpenſes with my Lettres, Vol. 11. ſaying any more of him in this place.

## PLINY *the Younger.*

The Author, of whom I am going to ſpeak, is one of thoſe perſons of antiquity that beſt deſerve to be known. I ſhall firſt trace a plan of his life from his own letters, in which we ſhall find all the qualities of the man of honour and probity, with the moſt amiable goodneſs of heart and generoſity it is poſſible to imagine. I ſhall then proceed to give ſome idea of his ſtile by extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is the only piece of his eloquence come down to us.

*Abridgement*

*Abridgement of the life of Pliny the younger.*

A. D. 61. PLINY the younger was born at Coma, a city of Italy. His mother was Pliny the Naturaliſt's ſiſter, who adopted him for his ſon.

Epiſt. 1. l. 2. Having loſt his father very early, Virginius Rufus, one of the greateſt perſons of his age, was his guardian, who always conſidered him as his own ſon, and took particular care of him. Virginius, whoſe virtues had rendered him ſuſpected, and even odious to the emperors, had however the good fortune to eſcape their jealouſy and hatred. He lived to the age of fourſcore and three, always happy and admired. The emperor Trajan cauſed his obſequies to be ſolemniſed with great magnificence; and Tacitus the hiſtorian, who was then conſul, pronounced his funeral oration.

Pliny was no leſs happy in maſters, than he had been in a guardian. We have ſeen elſewhere, that he ſtudied rhetoric under Quintilian, and that, of all his diſciples, he was the perſon who did him moſt honour, and alſo expreſſed moſt gratitude for him. The whole ſequel of his life will ſhew the taſte he had acquired for polite learning of every kind in the ſchool of that celebrated rhetorician.

Epiſt. 4. l. 7. At the age of fourteen he compoſed a Greek tragedy. He exerciſed himſelf afterwards in every ſpecies of poetry, which he made his amuſement.

Ep. 6. l. 6. He believed it neceſſary to hear alſo Nicetas of Smyrna, a celebrated Greek rhetorician, who was then at Rome.

Ep. 14. l. 1. I include Ruſticus Arulenus in the number of his maſters, who had been tribune of the people in 69, and who profeſſed Stoic philoſophy. His merit and virtue were crimes under an emperor, who was the declared enemy of both, and occaſioned the loſs of his life. He had taken particular care

Domitian.

to

to form Pliny for virtue, who always retained the higheſt gratitude for his memory,

Pliny was ſent into Syria, where he ſerved for ſome years at the head of a legion. All the leiſure his duty afforded him there he devoted to the lectures and converſations of Euphrates, a famous philoſopher, who believed then that he ſaw in Pliny all that he afterwards proved. He gives us a fine picture of that philoſopher. His * air, ſays he, is ſerious, without ſourneſs or ill-nature. His preſence inſpires reſpect, but neither fear nor awe. His extreme politeneſs is equalled only by the purity of his manners. He makes war upon vices, not perſons; and reforms ſuch as err, but without inſulting them. Ep. 10. l. 1.

On his return to Rome, he attached himſelf more cloſely than ever to Pliny the Naturaliſt, who had adopted him, and in whom he had the good fortune to find a father, maſter, model, and excellent guide. He collected his ſlighteſt diſcourſes, and ſtudied all his actions.

His uncle, then fifty-ſix years old, was obliged to repair to the coaſt of Naples, in order to take upon him the command of the Roman fleet at Miſenum. Pliny the younger attended him thither, where he loſt him by the unhappy accident I have related elſewhere.

Deſtitute of that ſupport, he ſought no other than his own merit, and applied himſelf wholly to public affairs. He pleaded his firſt cauſe at nineteen years of age. Young as he was, he ſpoke before the Centumviri in an affair, wherein he was under the neceſſity of contending with all the perſons of the higheſt credit in Rome, without excepting thoſe whom the prince honoured with his favour. † It was this action that firſt made him Ep. 8. l. 5. Ep. 14. l. 1.

* Nullus horror in vultu, nulla triſtitia, multum ſeveritatis. Reverearis occurſum, non reformides. Vitæ ſanctitas ſumma, comitas par. Inſectatur vitia, non homines: nec caſtigat errantes, ſed emendat.

† Illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa januam famæ patefecit.

known, and opened the way for the reputation he afterwards acquired. He retained from thenceforth an approbation as univerſal as extraordinary in a city where neither competitors nor envy were idle.

Ep. 16. l. 4. He had more than once the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the entrance of the bar entirely ſhut up by the multitude of hearers, who waited when he was to plead. He was obliged to go to his place through the tribunal where the judges ſat; and ſometimes ſpoke ſeven hours, when himſelf was the only perſon tired in the aſſembly.

Ep. 14. l. 5. He never pleaded but for the public intereſts, his friends, or thoſe whoſe ill fortune had left them none. Moſt of the other advocates ſold their aſſiſtance, and to glory, of old the ſole reward of ſo noble an employment, had ſubſtituted a ſordid traffic of gain. Trajan, to reform that diſorder, publiſhed a * decree, which at the ſame time it gave Pliny great pleaſure, did him no leſs honour. "How pleaſed I am, ſaid he, not only never to "have entered into any agreement about the cauſes "in which I have been concerned, but to have al- "ways refuſed all kinds of preſents, and even new- "years gifts, upon account of them! † It is true, "indeed, that every thing repugnant to honour is "to be avoided, not as prohibited, but as infa- "mous. There is however great ſatisfaction in "ſeeing that prohibited, which one never allowed "one's ſelf to do."

Ep. 23. l. 6. He made it a pleaſure, and even a duty, to aſſiſt with his advice, and to produce young perſons of family and hopes at the bar. He would not under-

* *It was ordained by this decree, that all perſons who had cauſes ſhould make oath that they had neither given nor promiſed, nor cauſed to be given or promiſed, any thing to the advocate concerned for them. After the ſuit was determined, it admitted giving to the amount of ten thouſand ſeſterces (about 60l. ſterling.* Ep. 21. l. 5.

† Oportet quidem quæ ſunt inhoneſta, non quaſi illicita, ſed quaſi pudenda, vitare. Jucundum tamen, ſi prohiberi publicè videas, quod nunquam tibi ipſe permiſeris.

take

take ſome cauſes, but upon condition of having a young advocate joined with him in them. *It was the higheſt joy to him, to ſee them begin to diſtinguiſh themſelves in pleading, by treading in his ſteps, and following his counſels. From how good an heart, from what a fund of love for the public, do ſuch ſentiments flow! Ep. 11. l. 6.

It was by theſe ſteps that Pliny ſoon roſe to the higheſt dignities of the ſtate. He always retained the virtues in them by which they were acquired. In the time of Domitian he was prætor.

That ſavage prince, who looked upon innocence of manners as a cenſure of his own conduct, baniſhed all the philoſophers from Rome and Italy. Artemidorus, one of Pliny's friends, was of this number, and had withdrawn to an houſe that he had without the gates of the city. Ep. 11. l. 3. "I went thither to ſee him, ſays Pliny, at a time when my "viſit was moſt remarkable and moſt dangerous. "I was prætor. He could not diſcharge the debts "he had contracted for many noble uſes without a "great ſum of money. Some of the richeſt and "moſt powerful of his friends would not ſee the "difficulty he was under. As to me, I borrowed "the ſum, and made him a preſent of it. I had "however great reaſon to tremble for myſelf. Seven "of my friends had juſt before either been baniſhed "or put to death. Of the latter were Senecio, "Ruſticus and Helvidius: the exiles were Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia. †The thunder which fell ſo often, and ſtill ſmoked around "me, ſeemed evidently to preſage the like fate for "myſelf. But I am far from believing that I de"ſerve on this account all the glory Artemidorus

* O diem lætum, notandumque mihi candidiſſimo calculo! Quid enim aut publicè lætius, quam clariſſimos juvenes nomen & famam ex ſtudiis petere; aut mihi optatius, quam me ad recta tendentibus quaſi exemplar eſſe propoſitum?

† Tot circa me jactis fulminibus quaſi ambuſtus, mihi quoque impendere idem exitium certis quibuſdam notis augurarer.

"gives me: I only avoid infamy." Where ſhall we find now ſuch friends and ſuch ſentiments?

I admire Pliny's good fortune, worthy man as he was, in eſcaping the cruelty of Domitian. I could wiſh that he owed this obligation to his maſter and friend Quintilian, who had undoubtedly great credit with the emperor, eſpecially after he had charged him with the education of his ſiſter's grandſons. Hiſtory ſays nothing upon this head: it only informs us, that an accuſation fully prepared againſt Pliny was found amongſt Domitian's papers.

Ep. 5. l. 1. A. D. 96. The bloody death of that emperor, who was ſucceeded by Nerva, reſtored tranquillity to perſons of worth, and made the bad tremble in their turn. A famous informer, named Regulus, not ſatisfied with having fomented the proſecution of Ruſticus Arulenus, had beſides triumphed over his death, by inſulting his memory with writings full of injurious reproaches and inſolent ridicule. Never was man ſo abject, cowardly, and creeping, as this wretch appeared after Domitian's death; which is always the caſe with ſuch venal proſtitutes to iniquity, that have no ſenſe of honour. He was afraid of Pliny's reſentment, the declared friend of Ruſticus in all times. Beſides which he had attacked him perſonally in Domitian's life; and in a public pleading at the bar, had laid a murtherous ſnare for him by an inſidious queſtion, in reſpect to a perſon of worth, whom the emperor had baniſhed, which expoſed Pliny to certain danger, had he openly declared the truth; or would have diſhonoured him for ever, had he betrayed it. This baſe wretch left nothing undone to avert Pliny's juſt revenge, employed the recommendation of his beſt friends, and came to him at laſt in perſon, to implore him, with the moſt abject and abandoned ſubmiſſions, to forget the paſt. Pliny did not think fit to explain himſelf, being willing, before he determined in the affair, to wait the arrival of Mauricus,

ricus, the brother of Ruſticus, who was not yet returned from baniſhment. It is not known how this buſineſs ended.

Another of the ſame kind did him abundance of honour. As ſoon as Domitian was killed, Pliny, upon mature deliberation, judged the preſent a very happy occaſion for proſecuting the vile, avenging oppreſſed innocence, and acquiring great glory. He had contracted a particular friendſhip with Helvidius Priſcus, the moſt virtuous and moſt revered perſon of his time, as alſo with Arria and Fannia, of whom the firſt was the wife of Pætus Thraſea and Fannia's mother; and the latter the wife of Priſcus. The ſenator Publicius Certus, a man of great power and credit, deſigned for conſul the enſuing year, had urged the death of Helvidius, who was alſo a ſenator of conſular dignity, even in the ſenate. Pliny undertook to avenge his illuſtrious friend. Arria and Fannia, who were returned from baniſhment, joined him in ſo generous a deſign. He had never done any thing without the advice of Corellius, whom he conſidered as the wiſeſt and moſt able perſon of the age. But, upon this occaſion, knowing him to be a man of too timorous and circumſpect a prudence, and, at the ſame time, that *in reſolutions wiſely taken it is not proper to conſult perſons, whoſe counſels are a kind of orders to the aſker, he did not impart his deſign to him, and contented himſelf with communicating it upon the very day it was to be put in execution, but without aſking his opinion. Ep. 13. l. 9. Ep. 17. l. 4.

The ſenate being aſſembled, Pliny repaired thither, and demanded permiſſion to ſpeak. He began with great applauſe, but, as ſoon as he had opened the plan of the accuſation, and had ſufficiently deſigned the criminal, without naming him however hitherto, the ſenate roſe up againſt him

* Expertus uſu, de eo quod deſtinaveris non eſſe conſulendos, quibus conſultis obſequi debeas.

on all ſides. He heard all their outcries without trouble or emotion, whilſt one of his friends of conſular dignity intimated to him ſoftly, but in very lively terms, that he had expoſed himſelf with too much courage, and too little prudence, and preſſed him earneſtly to deſiſt from his accuſation; adding at the ſame time, that he would render himſelf formidable to ſucceeding emperors. *So much the better*, replied Pliny, *if they are bad ones.*

They at length proceeded to give their opinions, and the firſt who ſpoke, which were the moſt conſiderable of the ſenate, apologiſed for Certus, as if Pliny had actually named him, though he had not yet done ſo. Almoſt all the reſt declared in his favour.

When it came to Pliny's turn to ſpeak, he treated the ſubject in all its extent, and replied to every thing that had been advanced. It is not conceivable with what attention and applauſe, even thoſe who a little before had oppoſed him, received all he ſaid, ſo ſudden was the change produced either by the importance of the cauſe, the force of the reaſons, or the courage of the accuſer.

The emperor did not judge it proper that the proceedings ſhould go on. Pliny however carried what he propoſed. Certus's colleague obtained the conſulſhip, as had been before intended: but as for himſelf, another was nominated in his ſtead.

What an honour was this for Pliny! A ſingle man, by the idea conceived of his zeal for the public good, brings over all the ſuffrages to his own ſide, ſupports the dignity of his order, and reſtores courage to ſo auguſt an aſſembly as the Roman ſenate, at a time when the terror of the preceding reign ſtill rendered it timorous and almoſt ſpeechleſs.

I ſhall repeat two other occaſions alſo, in which, not as a ſenator, but an advocate, he diſplayed both the force of his eloquence, and his juſt indignation againſt the oppreſſors of the people in the provinces.

They

They are both of the ſame time, but the year is not preciſely known.

In the firſt, "We ſee an event famous from the rank of the perſon, ſalutary by the ſeverity of the example, and memorable for ever from its importance." I ſhall uſe Pliny's own words, but I ſhall abridge his account conſiderably: Ep. 11. l. 2.

"Marius Priſcus, proconſul of Africa, accuſed by the Africans, without propoſing any defence, confines himſelf to demanding the ordinary judges. Tacitus and myſelf (ſays Pliny) being charged by order of the ſenate with the cauſe of that people, believed it our duty to remonſtrate, that the crimes in queſtion were too enormous to admit a civil trial. For Priſcus was accuſed of no leſs than ſelling condemnation, and even the lives of innocent perſons.—Vitellius Honoratus and Flavius Martianus were cited as his accomplices and appeared. The firſt was accuſed of having purchaſed the baniſhment of a Roman knight, and the deaths of ſeven of his friends, for three hundred thouſand ſeſterces. *About* The ſecond had given ſeven hundred thouſand, *1900 l. ſterling.* to have various torments inflicted upon another Roman knight. This latter had been firſt con- *About 4350 l. ſterling.* demned to be whipped, then ſent to the mines, and at laſt ſtrangled in priſon. But a fortunate death ſaved Honoratus from the juſtice of the ſenate. Martianus therefore was committed without Priſcus. Upon ſome debates which aroſe upon this affair, it was referred to the firſt aſſembly of the ſenate.

"This aſſembly was moſt auguſt. The prince preſided in it, being then conſul. It was about the beginning of January, when the ſenate is generally moſt numerous. Beſides the importance of the cauſe, the noiſe it had made, and the natural curioſity of all men to be eye-witneſſes of great and extraordinary events, had *Trajan.*

" drawn together from all parts a great multitude " of auditors. You may imagine the trouble and " apprehenſion we were under, who were to ſpeak " in ſuch an aſſembly, and in the preſence of the " emperor. I have ſpoken more than once in the " ſenate, and may venture to ſay, that I never was " ſo favourably heard any where: notwithſtanding " which every thing daunted me, as if entirely new " to me.

" The difficulty of the cauſe embarraſſed me al- " moſt as much as the reſt. I conſidered, in the " perſon of Priſcus, a man, who, a little before, " was of conſular dignity, was honoured with an " important prieſthood, of both which titles he was " then diveſted. I was ſincerely concerned at be- " ing to accuſe an unfortunate perſon already con- " demned. If the enormity of his crime urged " ſtrongly againſt him, pity, which uſually ſuc- " ceeds a firſt condemnation, pleaded no leſs in " his favour. At length I took courage, began " my diſcourſe, and received as many applauſes as " I had fears before. I ſpoke almoſt five hours: " for * I was granted an hour and a half more " than was at firſt allowed me. All that ſeemed " difficult and averſe, when I had it to ſay, became " eaſy and favourable when I ſaid it. The empe- " ror's goodneſs and care, I dare not call it anxiety, " for me, went ſo far, that he ordered me ſeveral " times to be admoniſhed by a freedman, who " ſtood behind me, to ſpare myſelf, and not to " forget the weakneſs of my conſtitution.

" Claudius Marcellinus defended Martianus. " The ſenate adjourned to the next day; for there " was not ſufficient time for going through a new " pleading before night.

* Nam decem clepſydris, quas ſpatioſiſſimas acceperam, ſunt additæ quatuor.

" On

" On the morrow Salvius Liberalis ſpoke for " Priſcus. * He is a ſubtle orator, diſpoſes his " ſubject with method, has abundance of vehe- " mence, and is truly eloquent. All theſe talents " he diſplayed this day. † Tacitus replied with " abundance of eloquence, in which the great and " the ſublime of his character diſtinguiſhed itſelf " not a little. Catius Fronto rejoined very finely " for Priſcus; and, as he ſpoke laſt, and there was " but little time remaining, he endeavoured more " to move the judges, than to juſtify the accuſed. " Night came on, and the affair was referred to " the next day.

" The queſtion then was to examine the proofs, " and proceed to vote. It was certainly ſomething " very noble, and highly worthy of antient Rome, " to ſee the ſenate aſſembled, and employed for " three days ſucceſſively, without ſeparating till " night. Cornutus Tertullus conſul elect, a per- " ſon of extraordinary merit, and moſt zealous for " juſtice, was the firſt that gave his opinion. It " was to condemn Priſcus to pay the ſeven hun- " dred thouſand ſeſterces he had received into the " public treaſury, and to baniſh him from Rome " and Italy. He went farther againſt Martianus, " and was for having him baniſhed even from " Africa; and concluded with propoſing to the " ſenate, to declare ‡ Tacitus and I had faithfully " and worthily anſwered their expectation in ac- " quitting ourſelves of our commiſſion. The con- " ſuls, and all the perſons of conſular dignity, who " ſpoke afterwards, were of the ſame opinion. " Some diviſion enſued: but at laſt every body " came over to Cornutus."

* Vir ſubtilis, diſpoſitus, acer, diſertus.

† Reſpondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentiſſimè, & quod eximium orationi ejus eſt, σεμνῶς.

‡ Ego & Tacitus. *The Latin is more ſimple and leſs ceremonious.* I and Tacitus. *Perhaps the ſenate's vote named Pliny firſt.*

Pliny

Pliny makes an end of his letter with a ſtroke of gaiety. "You are now, ſays he to his friend, fully "informed of what paſſes here. Let me know in "your turn what you do in the country. Send "me an exact account of your trees, your vines, "your corn, and your cattle; and aſſure yourſelf, "that if I have not a very long letter from you, "you ſhall have but very ſhort ones from me for "the future. Adieu."

Ep. 4. & 9. l. 3. It appears that Pliny was in a manner the refuge and aſylum of the oppreſſed provinces. The deputies from *Bœtica implored the ſenate to appoint Pliny to be their advocate in the ſuit they had commenced againſt Cæcilius Claſſicus, late governor of that province. Whatever other employments he might have, he could not refuſe that people his aſſiſtance, for whom he had before pleaded upon a like occaſion. †For, ſays Pliny, you cancel your firſt good offices, if you do not repeat them. Oblige an hundred times, and refuſe once, men (for ſuch is their nature) forget every thing but the refuſal. Accordingly he undertook their cauſe.

Either a voluntary or natural death ſaved Claſſicus from the conſequences of this proſecution. Bœtica however did not omit to demand that it ſhould go on; for ſo the laws required; and accuſed at the ſame time the miniſters and accomplices of his crimes, demanding juſtice againſt them. The firſt thing that Pliny believed it neceſſary to eſtabliſh, was, that Claſſicus was guilty, which it was not difficult to prove. He had left amongſt his papers an exact memorandum, in his own hand-writing, of the gains he had made by his ſeveral extortions. Probus and Hiſpanus, two of his accomplices, gave more trouble. Before he entered upon the

* *Andaluſia is a great part of what the antients called Bætica.*

† Eſt ita natura comparatum, ut antiquiora beneficia ſubvertas, niſi illa poſterioribus cumules. Nam, quamlibet ſæpe obligati, ſi quid unum neges, hoc ſolum meminerunt, quod negatum eſt.

proof

proof of their crimes, Pliny judged it neceſſary to ſhew, that the execution of a governor's orders in what was manifeſtly unjuſt, was criminal; without which it had been loſing time to prove them Claſſicus's inſtruments. For they did not deny the facts laid to their charge, but excuſed themſelves by pleading that they were reduced to them by obedience to their ſuperior, which, according to them, ſufficed for their vindication. They pretended, that ſuch obedience could not be made criminal in them, as they were natives of the province, and conſequently accuſtomed to tremble at the leaſt command of the governor. Their advocate, who was a perſon of great ability, confeſſed afterwards, that he never was ſo much perplexed and diſconcerted, as when he ſaw the only arms in which he had placed his whole confidence, wreſted out of his hands.

The event was as follows. The ſenate decreed, that the eſtate of Claſſicus, before he took poſſeſſion of his government, ſhould be ſeparated from what he had afterwards acquired. The firſt was adjudged to his daughter, and the reſt to the people of Bœtica. Hiſpanus and Probus were baniſhed for five years; ſo black did that which at firſt ſeemed ſcarce criminal, appear after Pliny had ſpoke. The other accomplices were proſecuted with the ſame effect.

What conſtancy and courage had Pliny, and how much muſt he have abhorred injuſtice and oppreſſion? What an happineſs was it for the remote provinces, as Andaluſia was, where the governors, like ſo many petty tyrants, making their will their law, plundered and oppreſſed the people with impunity, to have a zealous and intrepid defender, whom neither credit nor menaces were capable of ſwaying in the leaſt! For theſe public robbers find protection, and are ſeldom made examples, which can alone put a ſtop to ſuch pernicious abuſes.

Pliny's

A. D. 99. In Panegyr. Traj. Pliny's zeal was ſoon rewarded in a conſpicuous manner. He was actually made præfect of the treaſury, that is to ſay, high-treaſurer, with Cornutus Tertullus; which office he held two years, when they were both nominated conſuls to be ſubſtituted to the uſual ones for the following year. Trajan ſpoke in the ſenate to have this honour conferred upon them, preſided in the aſſembly of the people at their nomination, and proclaimed them conſuls himſelf. He gave them great praiſes, and repreſented them as men who equalled the antient conſuls of Rome, in their love of juſtice and the pub-

Ep. 13. l. 5. lic good. "It was then I perfectly knew, ſays "* Pliny, ſpeaking of his colleague, what kind of "man, and of what value, he was. I heard him "as a maſter, and reſpected him as a father; leſs "on account of his advanced age, than his pro-"found wiſdom."

A. D. 100. Pliny, when conſul, pronounced, in his own and his colleague's name, an oration to thank Trajan for having conferred that dignity upon them, and to make his panegyric according to the order he had received from the ſenate, and in the name of the whole empire. I ſhall have occaſion in the ſequel to ſpeak of this panegyric.

A. D. 103. About the end of the year 103, Pliny was ſent to govern Pontus and Bithynia in quality of proconſul. His ſole employment there was to eſtabliſh good order in his government, to execute juſtice, to redreſs grievances, and ſoften ſubjection. He had no thoughts of attracting reſpect by the pomp of equipage, difficulty of acceſs, haughtineſs in hearing, and inſolence in giving anſwers.

A noble ſimplicity, an always frank and eaſy reception, an affability that ſweetened neceſſary refu-

* Tunc ego qui vir & quantus eſſet, altiſſimè inſpexi: quem ſequerer ut magiſtrum, ut parentem vererer: quod non tam ætatis maturitate, quam vita, merebatur.

ſals,

ſals, with a moderation that never departed from itſelf, conciliated the affection of every body.

Trajan, otherwiſe the moſt humane and juſt of princes, had ſet on foot a violent perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. Pliny, from the neceſſity of his office, and in conſequence of his blindneſs, had his ſhare in it. But the natural ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition made him averſe, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, to inflict puniſhments upon perſons guilty of no crime. In conſequence finding himſelf perplexed in the execution of the emperor's orders, he wrote him a letter upon that head, and received an anſwer, which, of all the monuments of Paganiſm, are perhaps thoſe that do moſt honour to the Chriſtian religion. I ſhall inſert both at length in this place.

*Pliny's letter to the emperor Trajan.*

"It is a part of my religion, Cæſar, to explain Ep. 97.
"all my ſcruples to you. For who can either de- l. 10.
"termine or inſtruct me better? I never was pre-
"ſent at the proceedings againſt any Chriſtian: ſo
"that I neither know upon what the information
"againſt them turns, nor how far their puniſhment
"ſhould extend. I am much at a loſs about the
"difference of age. Muſt young and old without
"diſtinction ſuffer the ſame inflictions? Are not
"thoſe who repent to be pardoned, or is it to no
"purpoſe to renounce Chriſtianity, after having
"once embraced it? Is it the name only that I am
"to puniſh in them, or are there any crimes an-
"nexed to that name? However this be, I have
"made this my rule, in reſpect to the Chriſtians
"brought before me: Thoſe who have owned
"themſelves ſuch I have interrogated a ſecond
"and third time, and threatened them with puniſh-
"ment. When they perſiſted, I ordered it accord-
"ingly. For, of whatever nature their confeſſion
"was, I believed it indiſpenſably neceſſary to puniſh
"in them their diſobedience and invincible obſti-
"nacy.

" nacy. There were others poſſeſſed with the ſame " phrenſy, whom I have reſerved in order to ſend " them to Rome, becauſe they are Roman citi- " zens. Accuſations of this kind becoming after- " wards more frequent even from being ſet on foot, " as is uſual, various kinds of them offer. A me- " morial has been put into my hands, wherein " ſeveral perſons are accuſed of being Chriſtians, " who deny that they either are or ever were ſo. " They have in my preſence, and in the terms I " preſcribed, invoked the gods, and offered in- " cenſe and wine to your image, which I cauſed " expreſsly to be brought out with the ſtatues of " our divinities. They have even uttered vio- " lent imprecations againſt Chriſt. And this I " am told, is what none, who are truly Chriſtians, " can ever be forced to do. I believed it therefore " neceſſary to acquit them. Others, who have " been brought before me by an informer, have at " firſt confeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, and imme- " diately after denied it; declaring that they had " indeed been ſo, but that they had ceaſed to be " ſo, ſome above three, and others a greater num- " ber of years, and ſome for more than twenty. " All theſe people have adored your image, and " the ſtatues of the gods; and all of them loaded " Chriſt with curſes. * They have affirmed to me, " that their whole error and fault conſiſted in theſe " points: That on a day fixed, they aſſembled be- " fore ſun-riſe, and ſung alternately hymns to " Chriſt as to a god; that they engaged themſelves " by oath, not to any crime, but not to rob or " commit adultery; to be faithful to their promiſe,

* Affirmabant autem hanc fuiſſe ſummam vel culpæ ſuæ, vel erroris, quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Chriſto, quaſi deo, dicere ſecum invicem; ſeque ſacramento non in ſcelus aliquod obſtringere, ſed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depoſitum appellari abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem ſibi diſcedendi fuiſſe, rurſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium.

" and

" and not to ſecrete or deny depoſits: That after " this it was their cuſtom to ſeparate, and then to " rea-ſſemble, in order to eat promiſcuouſly ſome " ſimple and innocent food: That they had ceaſed " to do ſo ſince my edict, by which, according " to your orders, I had prohibited all aſſemblies " whatſoever. Theſe depoſitions convinced me " more than ever, that it was neceſſary to extort " the truth by force of torments out of two virgin " ſlaves, who they ſaid were prieſteſſes of their " worſhip: but I diſcovered only a bad kind of " ſuperſtition, carried to exceſs; and for that rea- " ſon have ſuſpended every thing till I have your " farther orders. The affair ſeems worthy of your " reflection, from the multitude of thoſe involved " in the danger. For great numbers of all ages, " ſexes, and conditions, are liable to this accuſa- " tion. This contagious evil has not only infected " the cities, but has reached the villages and coun- " try. I believe however that it may be remedied, " and that a ſtop may be put to it: and it is cer- " tain that the temples which were almoſt entirely " abandoned, are now frequented; and that the " long neglected ſacrifices are renewed. Victims " are ſold every where, which before had few pur- " chaſers. From whence may be judged what " numbers may be reclaimed, if pardon be granted " to repentance."

*The emperor Trajan's anſwer to Pliny.*

" You have, moſt dear Pliny, taken the me- Ep. 98.
" thod you ought in proceeding againſt the Chri- " ſtians brought before you: for it is impoſſible " to eſtabliſh a certain and general form in affairs " of ſuch a nature. It is not neceſſary to make " ſtrict inquiries after thoſe people: but if they are " accuſed and convicted, they muſt be puniſhed. " However, if the accuſed denies that he is a " Chriſtian, and proves he is not by his behaviour,

" I mean by invoking the gods, it is proper to " pardon him on his repentance, whatever cauſes " of ſuſpicion may before have been laid to his " charge, * FOR THE REST, ANONYMOUS INFOR- " MATIONS OUGHT NOT TO BE RECEIVED IN " ANY KIND OF CRIME: FOR THAT WERE OF " PERNICIOUS EXAMPLE, AND DOES NOT SUIT " THE TIMES IN WHICH WE LIVE."

I leave it to the reader to make the reflections, theſe two letters naturally ſuggeſt, upon the magnificent praiſe they include of the purity of manners of the primitive Chriſtians, the amazing progreſs Chriſtianity had already made in ſo few years, even to occaſion the temples to be abandoned; the incredible number of the faithful of all ages, ſexes, and conditions; the authentic teſtimony rendered by a Pagan of the belief of the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt generally eſtabliſhed amongſt theſe Faithful; the remarkable contradiction of Trajan's opinion; for if the Chriſtians were criminal, it was juſt to make ſtrict inquiry after them; and, if not, it was unjuſt to puniſh them though accuſed; and laſtly upon the maxim taken from the law of nature, with which the emperor concludes his letter, in declaring, that he ſhould deem it a diſhonour to his age, if, in any crime whatſoever, (the expreſſion is general) regard were had to informations without the names of their authors.

On Pliny's return to Rome, he reſumed buſineſs and his employments. His firſt wife being dead without children, he married a ſecond named Calphurnia. As ſhe was very young, and had abundance of wit, he found no difficulty in inſpiring her with a taſte for polite learning. It became her ſole paſſion; but ſhe reconciled it ſo well with her affection for her huſband, that it could not be ſaid whether ſhe loved Pliny for polite learning, or polite

* Sine auctore verò propoſiti libelli nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam & peſſimi exempli, nec noſtri ſeculi eſt.

learning

learning for Pliny. When he was to plead ſome important cauſe, ſhe always had ſeveral perſons waiting to bring her the firſt news of his ſucceſs, and the emotion that expectation occaſioned ceaſed only with their return. If he read any oration or other piece to an aſſembly of his friends, ſhe never failed to contrive herſelf ſome place, from whence behind a curtain ſhe might overhear the applauſes given him. Her huſband's works were continually in her hand, and, with no other art but love for her maſter, ſhe compoſed airs upon the lyre to his verſes. Ep. 19. l. 4.

His letters to her ſhew how far he carried his tenderneſs for a wife ſo worthy of his affection and eſteem: "You tell me that my abſence gives you "abundance of pain, and that your ſole conſola- "tion is reading my works, and often laying them "by you in my place. I am tranſported with joy "that you deſire me ſo ardently, and at your manner "of conſoling yourſelf. As for me, I read your let- "ters over and over, and am perpetually opening "them again, as if they were new ones. But they "only ſerve to aggravate the regret I feel in want- "ing you. For what felicity muſt one not find in "the converſation of her, whoſe letters have ſuch "charms! Fail not however to write often to me, "though it gives me a kind of pleaſure that tor- "ments me." In another letter he ſays: "I con- "jure you moſt earneſtly to prevent my anxiety "by one and even two letters every day. I ſhall "at leaſt feel hope whilſt I read them, though I "fall into my firſt alarms afterwards." In a third, "To tell you to what a degree your abſence affects "me would ſeem incredible. I paſs the greateſt "part of my nights in thinking of you. In the "day and at the hours I uſed to ſee you, my feet "in a manner carry me of themſelves to your a- "partment; and, not finding you there, I return Ep. 7. l. 6. Ep. 4. l. 6. Ep. 7. l. 7.

" with as much ſadneſs and confuſion, as if I had " been refuſed entrance."

Ep.10.l.8. After having received ſome hurt at her firſt time of being with child, ſhe recovered, and lived a conſiderable time, but left him no iſſue.

Neither the time nor circumſtances of Pliny's death are known.

I have not pretended hitherto to give an exact and continued account of Pliny's actions, but only an idea of his character by ſome events more remarkable than others, and conſequently the moſt proper for making it known. I ſhall with the ſame view add ſome other facts, without confining myſelf to the order of time, and ſhall reduce them to four or five heads.

## I. *Pliny's application to ſtudy.*

It had been ſtrange if Pliny, brought up in the ſight and under the care of his uncle Pliny the Naturaliſt, had wanted a taſte for the ſciences, and indeed had not devoted himſelf entirely to them. We may believe that in his firſt ſtudies he followed the plan he laid down for a young man who had conſulted him upon that ſubject. As this letter may be uſeful to youth, I ſhall inſert part of it here:

Ep.9.l.7. " You aſk me in what manner I would adviſe " you to ſtudy. One of the beſt methods, accord- " ing to the opinion of many, is to tranſlate Greek " into Latin, or Latin into Greek. By that you " will acquire juſtneſs and beauty of diction, happineſs and grace of figures, and facility in expreſſing your ſenſe; beſides which, in that imi- " tation of the moſt excellent authors, you will " inſenſibly contract an habit of thinking and expreſſing yourſelf like them. A thouſand things " which eſcape a man that reads do not eſcape a " tranſlator. Tranſlation enlarges the mind, and " forms the taſte.

" You

"You may alſo, after having read ſomething "only for the ſake of making it your ſubject, treat "it yourſelf, with the reſolution not to be excelled "by your original. You may then compare your "work with your author's, and carefully examine "what he has done better than you, and you bet-"ter than him. What a joy will it be to you "to perceive yours ſometimes the beſt; and how "much will it redouble your emulation, ſhould "you find yourſelf always the inferior!

"I know your preſent ſtudy is the eloquence of "the bar: but, for the attainment of that, I would "not adviſe you to confine yourſelf entirely to that "contentious ſtile, that breathes nothing but war "and debate. As fields delight in change of ſeeds, "our minds alſo require to be exerciſed in diffe-"rent ſtudies. I would therefore have you ſome-"times make a fine piece of hiſtory your employ-"ment, ſometimes the compoſition of a letter, "and ſometimes verſes——It is in this manner "the greateſt orators, and even the greateſt men, "have exerciſed or unbended themſelves: or ra-"ther have exerciſed and unbended both together. "It is amazing how much theſe little works awaken "and exhilarate the genius.

"I have not ſaid what it is neceſſary to read, "though the having mentioned what it is proper "to write ſufficiently ſpeaks that. Remember "only to make a good choice of the beſt authors "in every kind; for it has been well ſaid *, that it "is neceſſary to read much, but not many things."

We have ſeen that Pliny, at the age of fourteen, had wrote a Greek tragedy, and afterwards exerciſed himſelf in the ſeveral ſpecies of poetry. He was much delighted with reading Livy. † He ad- Ep. 21. l. 6.

* Aiunt multum legendum eſſe, non multa.

† Sum ex iis qui miror antiquos; non tamen, ut quidam, temporum noſtrorum ingenia deſpicio. Nequè enim quaſi laſſa & effœta natura, ut nihil jam laudabile pariat.

mired the antients without being of the number of thoſe who deſpiſe the moderns. I cannot believe, ſays he, that nature is become ſo barren and exhauſted as to produce nothing valuable in our days.

Ep. 6. l. 9. He tells a friend in what manner he employs himſelf during the public diverſions: "I have "paſſed all theſe laſt days in compoſing and "writing with the greateſt tranquillity imaginable. "You may aſk how that is poſſible in the midſt "of Rome? It was the time of the ſhews in the "Circus which give me no manner of pleaſure. I "ſee nothing new or varied in them, and conſe- "quently nothing worth ſeeing more than once. "This redoubles my aſtoniſhment, that ſo many "thouſand——and even grave perſons——ſhould "have a puerile paſſion for ſeeing horſes run, and "men driving chariots ſo often. * When I conſi- "der this inſatiable deſire to ſee theſe trifling com- "mon ſights over and over again, I feel a ſecret "ſatisfaction in taking no pleaſure in ſuch things, "and am glad to employ a leiſure in polite ſtu- "dies, which others throw away upon ſuch frivo- "lous amuſements."

Ep. 19. l. 8. We ſee ſtudy was his whole joy and conſolation. "Literature, ſays he, is my diverſion and com- "fort; and I know nothing ſo agreeable as it is "to me, and nothing ſo mortifying as not to be "ſoftened by it. In my grief for my wife's indiſpo- "ſition, the ſickneſs of my family, and even the "deaths of ſome of them, † I find no remedy but "ſtudy. It indeed makes me more ſenſible of ad- "verſity, but renders me alſo more capable of "bearing it."

* Quos ego (quoſdam graves homines) cum recordor in re inani, frigida, aſſidua, tam inſatiabiliter deſidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capiar. Ac per hos dies libentiſſimè otium meum in literis colloco, quos alii otioſiſſimis occupationibus perdunt.

† Ad unicum doloris levamentum ſtudia confugio, quæ præſtant ut adverſa magis intelligam, ſed patientius feram.

II. *Pliny's*

II. *Pliny's eſteem and attachment for perſons of virtue and learning.*

All the great men of his age, all who were moſt diſtinguiſhed by eminent virtues, were Pliny's friends: Virginius Rufus, who refuſed the empire; Corellius, who was conſidered as a perfect model of wiſdom and probity; Helvidius, the admiration of his times; Ruſticus Arulenus and Senecio, whom Domitian put to death; and Cornutus Tertullus, who was ſeveral times his colleague.

He thought it alſo highly for his honour to have contracted a particular amity with the perſons who made the greateſt figure then in polite learning, Tacitus, Suetonius, Martial, and Silius Italicus.

"I have read your book, ſays he to Tacitus, Ep. 20. l. 7.
"and have obſerved with all the exactneſs in my
"power what I believe it neceſſary to alter and re-
"trench: * for I love no leſs to ſpeak truth, than
"you to hear it; beſides which no people are
"more docile to reproof, than thoſe who deſerve
"moſt praiſe. I expect that you will ſend back
"my book in your turn with your corrections.
"† Agreeable, charming exchange! How much
"am I delighted to think that, if poſterity ſets any
"value upon us, it will publiſh to the end of time
"with what freedom, ſimplicity, and friendſhip we
"lived together. It will be ſomething rare and
"remarkable, that two men, almoſt of the ſame
"age, of the ſame rank, and of ſome reputation
"in the republic of letters, (for I am reduced to

* Nam & ego verum dicere aſſuevi, & tu libentur audire. Neque enim ulli patientiùs reprehendentur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur.

† O jucundas, ô pulchras vices! Quam me delectat, quod, ſi qua poſteris cura noſtri, uſquequaque narrabitur, qua concordia, fide, ſimplicitate vixerimus! Erit rarum & inſigne, duos homines ætate, dignitate propemodum æquales, nonnullius in literis nominis, (cogor enim de te quoque parcius dicere, quia de me ſimul dico) alterum alterius ſtudia foviſſe.

" ſpeak modeſtly of you, when I join you with " myſelf) ſhould have aſſiſted each other's ſtudies " ſo faithfully. As for me, from my moſt early " youth, the reputation and glory you had ac- " quired made me deſirous of imitating you, and " of treading, and of appearing to tread, in your " ſteps, not near you, but nearer than another. " It was not becauſe Rome had not at that time " abundance of geniuſſes of the firſt rank: but, a- " mongſt them all, the ſimilitude of our inclina- " tions pointed out you, as the moſt proper, as " the moſt worthy of being imitated. This is what " highly augments my joy, as often as I hear it " ſaid, that, when converſation turns upon polite " learning, we are named together."

We may conceive how ſtudious Pliny was to oblige the hiſtorian Suetonius, from what he writes of him to a friend. This letter, though ſhort, is one of the moſt elegant of his come down to us:

Ep. 24. l. 1. " Suetonius *, who lodges with me, is for buy- " ing a little ſpot of land, which one of your " friends is diſpoſed to ſell. Favour me ſo far, I " beg you, as not to let him give more for it than " it is worth; which will make him like his pur- " chaſe. A bad bargain is always diſagreeable; " but moſt ſo, in ſeeming to reproach us with im- " prudence. This bit of land, if not too dear, has

* Tranquillus, contubernalis meus, vult emere agellum, quem venditare amicus tuus dicitur. Rogo cures, quanti æquum eſt, emat: ita enim delectabit emiſſe. Nam mala emptio ſemper ingrata eſt, eo maximè quod exprobrare ſtultitiam domino videtur. In hoc autem agello (ſi modo arriſerit pretium) Tranquilli mei ſtomachum multa ſollicitant: vicinitas urbis, opportunitas viæ, mediocritas villæ, modus ruris, qui avocet magis quam diſtringat. Scholaſticis porro ſtudioſis, ut hic eſt, ſufficit abunde tantum ſoli, ut relevare caput, reficere oculos, reptare per limitem, unamque ſemitam terere, omneſque viticulas ſuas noſſe, & numerare arbuſculas poſſint. Hæc tibi expoſui, quo magis ſcires, quantum ille eſſet mihi, quantum ego tibi debiturus, ſi prædiolum iſtud, quod commendatur his dotibus, tam ſalubriter emerit, ut pœnitentiæ locum non relinquat. Vale. *Mr. Rollin adds, that the French tongue cannot render the delicacy and elegance of the diminutives and frequentatives ſcattered in abundance throughout this little letter.* Agellum Venditare. Reptare per limitem. Viticulas, Arbuſculas, Prædiolum.

" many

" many temptations for my friend: its ſmall diſ-
" tance from Rome, the goodneſs of the ways, the
" mediocrity of its buildings, with its appurte-
" nances more fit to amuſe than employ. For
" theſe men of learning, devoted like him to ſtudy,
" want only as much land as is neceſſary for un-
" bending their minds and delighting their eyes
" in good air. A ſingle alley to walk in, a back
" way into the fields, and as many vines and plants
" as they can be acquainted with without burthen-
" ing their memories, abundantly ſuffice them. I
" tell you all this, that you may know the better
" how much he will be obliged to me, and I to
" you, if he can buy this little place, with theſe re-
" commendations, without any reaſon to repent it."

Martial, ſo well known from his epigrams, was Ep. 21. l. 3.
alſo one of Pliny's friends, and the death of that poet gave him great concern. " I am informed,
" ſaid he, that Martial is dead, and am very ſorry
" for it. * He was an ingenious, ſubtle, ſharp
" man, and had abundance both of ſalt and gall,
" with no leſs candor, in his writings. When he
" left Rome, I gave him ſomething to help him
" on his journey; which little aſſiſtance I owed him,
" as well on account of our friendſhip, as the verſes
" he had made for me. † It was the antient cuſ-
" tom to confer rewards, either of honour or profit,
" upon ſuch as had wrote in praiſe of cities or cer-
" tain individuals. But that cuſtom, with many
" others no leſs noble and decent, is one of the laſt
" in modern practice. Ever ſince we have ceaſed to
" do what deſerved praiſe, we have deſpiſed it
" as a thing of no value." Pliny repeats the paſ-
ſage of thoſe verſes, in which the poet, addreſſing

* Erat homo ingenioſus, acutus, acer, & qui plurimum in ſcribendo & ſalis haberet & fellis, nec candoris minus.

† Fuit moris antiqui, eos qui vel ſingulorum laudes vel urbium ſcripſerant, aut honoribus aut pecunia ornare: noſtris vero temporibus, ut alia ſpecioſa & egregia, ita hoc inprimis exolevit. Nam poſtquam deſiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus.

himſelf to his muſe, bids her go to Pliny at his houſe upon the Eſquiline hill, and approach him with reſpect:

Sed ne tempore non tuo diſertam
Pulſes ebria januam, videto.
Totos dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,
Dum centum ſtudet auribus virorum
Hoc quod ſecula poſterique poſſint
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis.
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:
Hæc hora eſt tua, cùm furit Lyæus,
Cùm regnat roſa, cum madent capilli.
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Mr. Sacy has tranſlated theſe verſes into French thus:

*Prends garde, petite ivrogneſſe,*
*De n'aller pas, à contretems,*
*Troubler les emplois importans*
*Ou du ſoir au matin l'occupe ſa ſageſſe.*
*Reſpecte les momens qu'il donne à des diſcours*
*Qui font le charme de nos jours,*
*Et que tout l'avenir, admirant notre Pline*
*Oſera comparer aux Oracles d'Arpine.*
*Prends l'heure que les doux propos,*
*Enfans des verres & des pots,*
*Ouvrent tout l'eſprit à la joie;*
*Qu'il ſe détend, qu'il ſe déploie,*
*Qu'on traite les ſages de ſots;*
*Et qu'alors, en humeur de rire,*
*Les plus Catons te puiſſent lire.*

The ſame verſes are in Engliſh.

*Wanton muſe, a while forbear,*
*Of improper times beware;*
*Knock not at his learned gate;*
*All day long affairs of weight ——*
*A thouſand hearers all day long*
*To his charming accents throng:*

*Strains*

*Strains ſo ſweetly wiſe, ſo rare,*
*Future ages ſhall compare*
*To thoſe of * Arpinas' ſon,*
*Tho' from Greece the palm he won.*
*Stir not there till ev'ning hours,*
*Till Bacchus reigns, and ſofter pow'rs;*
*When, crown'd with roſes, ſweet with oils,*
*Mirth laughs at care, and learned toils:*
*Then take thy time devoid of fear,*
*When Cato's ſelf thy lays would hear.*

"Do you not think, ſays Pliny in concluding his "letter, that the man who wrote of me, in theſe "terms, well deſerved ſome tokens of my affection "at his departure, and of my grief at his death?"

He alſo very much lamented that of Silius Italicus, on whoſe poetry he paſſes a judgment entirely juſt. † *He wrote verſes*, ſays he, *with more art than genius.* An incurable abceſs having given him a diſguſt for life, he ended his days by a voluntary abſtinence from food. Ep. 7. l. 3.

## III. *Pliny's liberality.*

Pliny, in compariſon with ſome of the rich perſons of Rome, had but a very moderate fortune, but a ſoul truly great, and the moſt noble ſentiments. Of this his almoſt innumerable liberalities are an undoubted proof. I ſhall relate only a part of them.

He had laid down principles to himſelf upon this head which well deſerve attention; "In my ‡ opi- "nion, ſays he, a man truly liberal ſhould give "to his country, his relations by blood or mar- "riage, and his friends, but his friends in neceſſity." This is the order in giving that equity preſcribes, and which he followed exactly. Ep. 30. l. 9.

We have already ſeen that he made a very generous preſent to Quintilian, his maſter, towards

* Cicero. † Scribebat carmina majore cura quàm ingenio.
‡ Volo eum, qui ſit verè liberalis, tribuere patriæ, propinquis, affinibus, amicis, ſed amicis pauperibus.

the

the portion of his daughter on her marriage, and aſſiſted Martial, when he retired from Rome. Of
Ep. 3. l. 6. thoſe two friends, the latter was in neceſſity, and the other was not rich.

He had given his nurſe a ſmall eſtate in land, which, at the time he gave it her, was worth an hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is to ſay, about ſix hundred pounds. What great lords of modern date act in this manner? Pliny however calls this a little preſent: *Munuſculum.* And, after beſtowing this piece of land, we find him make his nurſe's income from it his care. He writes to the perſon who had the care of it, to recommend the improvement of it to him. "For, adds he, ſhe who received this "little farm has not more intereſt in its produce, "than I who gave it her."

Ep. 4. l. 2. Seeing Calvina, whom he had partly portioned out of his own fortune, upon the point of renouncing the inheritance of her father Calvinus's eſtate, through fear that it was not ſufficient to diſcharge his debts to Pliny; he wrote to her not to affront her father's memory in that manner, and, to determine her, ſent her a general acquittance.

Ep. 19. l. 1. Upon another occaſion he gave Romanus three hundred thouſand ſeſterces (almoſt nineteen hundred pounds) to purchaſe him the eſtate neceſſary to qualify him for being admitted into the order of Roman knights.

Ep. 14. l. 7. Corellia, the ſiſter of Corellius Rufus, for whom Pliny had always an infinite reſpect during his life, bought lands of him at the price of ſeven hundred thouſand ſeſterces. Upon better information ſhe found thoſe lands worth nine hundred thouſand, and preſſed him earneſtly to take the overplus, but could not prevail upon him to do ſo. A fine conteſt this between juſtice and generoſity, in which the buyer's delicacy and the ſeller's noble diſintereſtedneſs are equally admirable! Where ſhall we find ſuch behaviour now?

Some

Some merchants had purchaſed his vintage at a very reaſonable price, from the hopes of gaining conſiderably by it. They were diſappointed; and he returned money to them all. The reaſon he gives for it is ſtill more admirable than the thing itſelf: "I *think it no leſs noble to do juſtice in "one's own houſe, than from the tribunal; in "ſmall than great affairs; and in one's own, as "well as in thoſe of other people." Ep. 2. l. 8.

What he did for his country ſtill exceeds every thing I have ſaid hitherto. The inhabitants of Coma, not having any maſters amongſt them for the education of their children, were obliged to ſend them to other cities. Pliny, who had the heart both of a ſon and a father for his country, made the inhabitants ſenſible of the advantages that would attend the education of their youth at Coma itſelf: "Where†, ſays he to their parents, can "they have a more agreeable reſidence than their "country? where form their manners with more "ſafety, than in the ſight of their fathers and mo- "thers? and where will their expences be leſs "than at home? Is it not beſt for your children "to receive their education in the ſame place where "they had their birth, and to accuſtom themſelves "from their infancy to love to reſide in their na- "tive country?" He offered to contribute one third towards a foundation for the ſubſiſtance of maſters, and thought it neceſſary to leave the reſt of the expence upon the parents, in order to render them the more attentive in chuſing good teachers from the neceſſity of the contribution, and the intereſt they would have in ſeeing their expence well beſtowed. Ep. 13. l. 4.

* Mihi egregium inprimis videtur, ut foris ita domi, ut in magnis ita in parvis, ut in alienis ita in ſuis, agitare juſtitiam.

† Ubi aut jucundiùs morarentur, quam in patria; aut pudiciùs continerentur, quam ſub oculis parentum; aut minore ſumptu, quam domi?—Edoceantur hîc, qui hîc naſcuntur, ſtatimque ab infantia natale ſolum amare, frequentare conſueſcant.

He

Ep. 8. l. 1. He did not confine himſelf to this donation. For, as he ſays elſewhere, * liberality once on foot knows not how or where to ſtop, and has ſtill the more charms, the more we uſe it. He founded a library there, with annual penſions for a certain number of young perſons of family, whoſe fortunes did not afford them the neceſſary ſupplies for ſtudy. He had accompanied the inſtitution of this library with a diſcourſe, which he pronounced in the preſence only of the principal citizens. He afterwards deliberated whether he ſhould publiſh it. "It † is hard, "ſays he, to ſpeak of one's own actions without "giving reaſon to judge, that we do not ſpeak of "them merely becauſe we did them, but did them "for the ſake of ſpeaking of them. As for me, "I do not forget that a great ſoul is far more af-"fected with the ſecret reports of conſcience, than "the moſt advantageous ones of common fame. "Our actions ought not to follow glory, but glory "them: And, if through the caprice of fortune "they do not find it, we ought not to believe, that "what has deſerved it loſes any thing of its value."

Ep. 4. l. 2. It is not eaſy to comprehend how a private perſon was capable of ſo many liberalities. This he explains himſelf in a letter to a lady, to whom he had made a conſiderable remittance: "Do not "fear, ſays he, that ſuch a preſent will diſtreſs me: "pray make yourſelf eaſy upon that head. My for-"tune indeed is not large. My rank requires ex-"pence, and my income, from the nature of my "eſtate, is no leſs caſual than moderate. But what "I want, on that ſide, I find in frugality; the moſt

* Neſcit enim ſemel incitata liberalitas ſtare, cujus pulcritudinem uſus ipſe commendat. *Epiſt.* 12. *l.* 5.

† Meminimus, quanto majore animo honeſtatis fructus in conſcientia, quam in fama, reponatur. Sequi enim gloria, non appeti debet: nec, ſi caſu aliquo non ſequatur, idcirco quod gloriam non meruit, minus pulcrum eſt. Ii vero qui benefacta ſua verbis adornant, non ideo prædicare quia fecerint, ſed ut prædicarent feciſſe creduntur.

"aſſured

" aſſured ſource of my liberality." *Quod ceſſat ex reditu, frugalitate ſuppletur: ex qua, velut è fonte, liberalitas noſtra decurrit.* What a leſſon and at the ſame time what a reproach is this to thoſe young noblemen, who with immenſe eſtates, do no good to any body, and often die much in debt! They are laviſh to prodigality upon luxury and pleaſures, but cloſe and cruel to inſenſibility to their friends and domeſtics. " Ever * remember, ſays Pliny, Ep. 6. l. 2.
" ſpeaking to a young man of diſtinction, that no-
" thing is more to be avoided, than that monſtrous
" mixture of avarice and prodigality, which pre-
" vails ſo much in our times; and that, if one of
" thoſe vices ſuffices to blaſt a perſon's reputation,
" both of them muſt diſgrace him infinitely more."

## IV. *Pliny's innocent pleaſures.*

Pliny's diſpoſition was not rigid and auſtere. On the contrary he was extremely facetious, and took pleaſure in converſing gaily with his friends: *Aliquando rideo jocor, ludo: utque omnia innoxiæ remiſſionis genera complectar, homo ſum.* Ep. 3. l. 5.

He was very glad to ſee his friends at his table, and often gave and accepted entertainments, but ſuch of which temperance, converſation, and reading made the principal part. " I ſhall come † to ſup- Ep. 12. l. 3.
" per with you, ſays he to a friend, upon condition
" however that we have nothing but what is plain
" and frugal, except only converſation in abun-
" dance after the manner of Socrates; and not
" much neither even of that."

He reproaches another with not having kept his promiſe with him. " On my word you ſhall hear Ep. 15. l. 1.
" of it. You put me to the expence of providing

* Memento nihil magis eſſe vitandum, quam iſtam luxuriæ & ſordium novam ſocietatem: quæ cum ſint turpiſſima diſcreta ac ſeparata, turpiùs junguntur.

† Veniam ad cœnam: ſed jam nunc paciſcor, ſit expedita, ſit parca, Socraticis tantum ſermonibus abundet: in his quoque teneat modum.

" a

" a ſupper for you, and don't come to it. Juſtice " is to be had at Rome. You ſhall pay me to the " laſt farthing, which is more perhaps than you " imagine. I had got each of us a lettuce, three " ſnails, two eggs, a cake, with muſcadel wine " and ice. Beſides which we had Spaniſh Olives, " Gourds, Shalots, and a thouſand other meats " to the full as delicious. But you were better " pleaſed, at I know not who's, with oyſters, ſow's " belly ſtuffed, and ſcarce fiſh. I ſhall certainly " puniſh you for it."

Ep. 6. l. 1. He deſcribes one of his parties of hunting with all the wit and pleaſantry imaginable: " I know you " will laugh, and conſent that you do laugh as much " as you pleaſe. That very Pliny, whom you know, " has catched three wild boars, and very large ones " too. What himſelf, ſay you? Himſelf. Do " not believe however, that they coſt my indolence " much. I ſate down near the nets: I had neither " ſpear nor dart by me, but I had my book and " a pen: I meditated, wrote, and, * in caſe of my " going home with my hands empty, had provided " myſelf with the conſolation of having my leaves " full."

Hence we ſee ſtudy was his darling paſſion. That taſte followed him univerſally, at table, in hunting, and wherever he went. He employed in it all the intervals of time, which were not paſſed in the ſervice of the public: for † he had laid it down to himſelf as a law, always to give buſineſs the preference to pleaſure, and the ſolid to the agreeable.

Ep. 8. l. 2. This made him deſire leiſure and retirement ſo ardently: " Shall ‡ I never then", cried he, when

* Ut ſi manus vacus, plenas tamen ceras reportarem.

† Hunc ordinem ſecutus ſum, ut neceſſitates, voluptatibus, feria jucundis anteferrem. *Ep.* 21 *l.* 8.

‡ Nunquam-ne hos arctiſſimos laqueos, ſi ſolvere negatur, abrumpam? Nunquam, puto. Nam veteribus negotiis nova acreſcunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur: tot nexibus, tot quaſi catenis majus in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.

oppreſſed

oppreſſed by a multiplicity of affairs, "be able to "break the ſhackles with which I am hampered, "ſince I cannot unbind them? No, I dare not flat- "ter myſelf with that. Every day ſome new care "augments my old ones. One buſineſs is no ſoon- "er at an end than another riſes up. The chains "of my occupation are perpetually multiplying "and growing more heavy."

In writing to a friend, who employed his leiſure like a wiſe man in a delightful retirement, he could not avoid envying him. "It is thus, ſays he, "that a perſon no leſs diſtinguiſhed in the func- "tions of the magiſtrate, than the command of "armies, and who has devoted himſelf to the ſer- "vice of the commonwealth as long as honour "required it, ought to paſs his age. * We owe "our firſt and ſecond ſtage of life to our country, "but the laſt to ourſelves. This the laws ſeem to "adviſe us, in granting us our quietus at ſixty. "When ſhall I be at liberty to enjoy reſt? At "what age ſhall I be permitted to imitate ſo glo- "rious a retirement, and when will it be poſſible "for mine not to be called ſloth, but honourable "leiſure?" Ep. 23. l. 4.

He never thought he lived or breathed, but when he could ſteal from the town to one of his country-houſes, for he had ſeveral. His agreeable deſcription of them ſufficiently ſhews the pleaſure he took in them. He ſpeaks of his orchards, his kitchen and other gardens, his buildings, and eſpecially of the places that were in a manner the work of his own hands, with that joy and ſatisfaction which every man feels who builds or plants in the country. He calls theſe places his delights, his loves, his real loves: *amores mei, re vera amores: ipſe poſui.* Ep. 17. l. 2. And in another place: *præterea indulſi amori meo;* Ep. 6. l. 5.

* Nam & prima vitæ tempora & media patriæ, extrema nobis impertiri debemus, ut ipſæ leges monent, quæ majorem annis ſexaginta otio reddunt.

ano

*amo enim quæ maxima ex parte ipſe incheavi, aut inchoata percolui.* "Am I in the wrong, ſays he to "one of his friends, for being ſo fond of this re- "treat, for making it my joy, and for ſtaying ſo "long at it?" And in another letter: "Here are "neither the offenſive, nor the impertinent. All "here is calm, all peace: and, as the goodneſs of "the climate makes the ſky more ſerene, and the "air more pure, my body is in better health, and "my mind more free and vigorous. The one I "exerciſe in hunting, and the other in ſtudy."

*Pliny's ardor for reputation and glory.*

It is not to be doubted but that glory was the ſoul of Pliny's virtues. His application, leiſure, diverſions, ſtudies, all tended that way. * It was a maxim with him, that the only ambition, which ſuited an honeſt man, was either to do things worthy of being written, or to write things worthy of being read. He did not deny, that the love of glory was his darling paſſion: "Every † body "judges differently of human happineſs. For my "part, I think no man ſo happy as he who en- "joys a great and ſolid reputarion; and who, aſ- "ſured of the voices of poſterity, taſte before- "hand all the glory it intends him. ‡ Nothing "affects me ſo much, ſays he, as the deſire of ſur- "viving long in the remembrance of mankind; a "diſpoſition truly worthy of a man, and eſpeci- "ally of one, who, having nothing to reproach "himſelf with, does not fear the judgment of po- "ſterity." The celebrated Thraſea uſed to ſay,

* Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum eſt aut facere ſcribenda, aut ſcribere legenda. *Ep.* 16. *l.* 6.

† Alius alium, ego beatiſſimum exiſtimo, qui bonæ manſuræque famæ præſumptione perfruitur, certuſque poſteritatis cum futura gloria vivit.

‡ Me nihil æquè ac diuturnitatis amor & cupido ſolicitat: res homine digniſſima, præſertim qui nullius ſibi conſcius culpæ, poſteritatis memoriam non reformidet.

that

that an orator ought to charge himſelf with three kinds of cauſes: thoſe of his friends, thoſe who want protection, and thoſe of which the conſequences may be of an exemplary nature—— "* I "ſhall add to theſe three kinds (ſays Pliny again) "perhaps as a man not without ambition, great "and famous cauſes. For it is juſt to plead ſome-"times for reputation and glory, that is to ſay, to "plead one's own cauſe."

He paſſionately deſired that Tacitus would write his hiſtory: but, leſs vain than Cicero, he did not aſk him to embelliſh it with lyes: *mendaciunculis aſpergere.* "My † actions, ſays he to that hiſto-"rian, will in your hands become more great, re-"markable, and ſhining. I do not however deſire "you to exaggerate them: for I know, that hiſtory "ought never to depart from truth, and that truth "does ſufficient honour to good actions." I do not know whether I had reaſon for ſaying, that Pliny was leſs vain than Cicero, and whether Cicero ought not to be deemed the more modeſt, becauſe the more ſincere. He knew what he wanted, and aſked an officious ſupplement of that. But Pliny does not believe he has occaſion either for favour or aid. He is more ſatisfied with his own merit. It is ſufficiently great, ſolid, and noble, to ſupport itſelf alone for the view of poſterity. It has no occaſion for any thing, beſides an elevation of ſtile, to convey the ſimple truth down to future ages without any foreign addition. Ep. 32. l. 7.

Pliny often aſſembled a number of his ſelect friends, in order to read his compoſitions either in verſe or proſe to them. He declares in ſeveral letters, that he did this with the view of making uſe

* Ad hæc ego genera cauſarum, ambitioſè fortaſſe, addam tamen claras & illuſtres. Æquum enim eſt agere nonunquam gloriæ & famæ, ie eſt, ſuam cauſam.

† Hæc, utcunque ſe habent, notiora, clariora, majora tu facies: quanquam non exigo ut excedas actæ rei modum. Nam neq; hiſtoria debet egredi veritatem, & honeſtè factis veritas ſufficit.

of their advice; which might be: but the deſire of being praiſed and admired had a great ſhare in it, for he was infinitely ſenſible in that point. "I *, "repreſent to myſelf already the crowd of hearers," (he ſpeaks to a friend whom he adviſes to read his works in the ſame manner) "the tranſports of ad-"miration, the applauſes, and even that ſilence, "which, whilſt I ſpeak in public, or read my com-"poſitions, is ſcarce leſs charming than the loudeſt "applauſes, when it proceeds ſolely from attention, "and an impatient deſire of hearing what remains."

Ep. 10. l. 2.

Ep. 17. l. 4. He was highly offended at the mute and ſupercilious behaviour of ſome hearers, when it concerned his friends. "An excellent work was read in "an aſſembly, to which I was invited. Two or "three perſons, who conceived themſelves better "judges than all the reſt of us, heard it as if "they had been deaf and dumb. They never "opened their lips, made the leaſt motion, or ſo "much as roſe up, unleſs it was when they were "weary of ſitting. † What contradiction, or "rather what folly was this, to paſs an whole day "in mortifying a man, to whoſe houſe they came "only to expreſs friendſhip and eſteem for him!"

Ep. 1. l. 5. He did noble actions; but was well pleaſed that they ſhould be known, and himſelf praiſed for them. "‡ I do not deny, ſays he, that I am "not ſo wiſe, as to be indifferent to that kind of "reward, which virtue finds in the teſtimony and "approbation of many."

* Imaginor qui concurſus, quæ admiratio te, qui clamor, quod etiam ſilentium maneat: quo ego, cùm dico vel recito, non minus quam clamore delector, ſit modò ſilentium acre, & intentum, & cupidum ulteriora audiendi.

† Quæ ſiniſteritas, ac potiùs amentia, in hoc totum diem impendere, ut offendas, ut inimicum relinquas, ad quem tanquam amiciſſimus veneris.

‡ Neque enim ſum tam ſapiens, ut nihil mea interſit, an iis quæ honeſtè feciſſe me credo teſtificatio quædam & quaſi præmium accedat.

Pliny

Pliny is cenſured for ſpeaking often of himſelf, but however he cannot be reproached with ſpeaking only of himſelf. No man ever took more pleaſure in extolling the merit of others; which he carried ſo far as to occaſion his being accuſed of praiſing to exceſs, a fault againſt which he was very far either from defending himſelf, or being willing to correct. "You tell me, that I am reproached by Ep. 28. l. 7.
"ſome people with praiſing my friends to exceſs
"upon all occaſions. I confeſs my crime, and glory
"in it. For can there be any thing more generous,
"than to err through ſuch an indulgence of one's
"ſelf? And pray who are theſe people, who be-
"lieve they know my friends better than I do?
"Granted they do, wherefore do they envy me ſo
"grateful an error? For ſuppoſe my friends are
"not what I ſay, I am always happy in believing
"they are. Let me therefore adviſe theſe cenſurers
"to apply their malignant delicacy to thoſe who
"believe there is wit and judgment in criticiſing
"their friends: as for me, they ſhall never perſuade
"me, that I love mine too well."

Have I not expatiated too far upon Pliny's private character, and will not the extracts I have made from his letters, appear to the reader too long and abundant? I am afraid they will, and confeſs my weakneſs. Theſe characters of integrity, probity, generoſity, love of public good, which to the misfortune of our age are become ſo rare, tranſport me out of myſelf, raviſh my admiration, and make me incapable of abridging my deſcriptions of them. And indeed, I repeat it again, is there a more gentle, deſireable, ſocial, and amiable character, in every reſpect, than that of which I have been endeavouring ſo long to give ſome idea? How agreeable is the commerce of life with ſuch friends; and how happy is it for the public, when ſuch beneficent perſons as Pliny, void of capricious humour, paſſion, and prejudice, fill the firſt offices of a ſtate,

and make it their ſtudy to ſoften and remove the diſtreſſes of thoſe with whom they have to do?

I was in the wrong for ſaying, that Pliny was void of paſſion. Exempt as he was from ſuch as in the judgment of the world diſhonour men, he had one, leſs groſs and more delicate indeed, but not leſs warm and vicious in the ſight of the Supreme Judge, whatſoever endeavours the general corruption of the human heart may make to ennoble it, by giving it almoſt the name of virtue: I mean that exceſſive love of glory, which was the ſoul of all his actions and undertakings. Pliny and all the reſt of the illuſtrious writers of the Pagan world were ſolely engroſſed by the deſire and care of living in the remembrance of poſterity, and of tranſmitting their names to future ages by writings, which they were in hopes would endure as long as the world; and obtain them a kind of immortality, with which they were blind enough to content themſelves. Could any thing be more uncertain, precarious, and frivolous, than this hope? Could not time, which has aboliſhed the greateſt part of the works of theſe vain men, have alſo aboliſhed the little that remains of them? To what are they indebted for the fragments of them that have eſcaped the general ſhipwreck? The little of theirs come down to us, does it prevent all that belongs to them, even their very names, from having periſhed totally throughout all Africa, Aſia, and great part of Europe? Had it not been for the ſtudies kept up by the Chriſtian church, would not Barbariſm have annihilated their works and names throughout the univerſe? How vain, how trifling then is the felicity, upon which they relied, and to which they wholly devoted themſelves! Have not thoſe, who were the admiration of their own times, fallen into the abyſs of death and oblivion, as well as the moſt ignorant and ſtupid? We, whom religion has better inſtructed, ſhould be very blind and void of

reaſon,

reaſon; if, deſtined by the grace of our Saviour to a bleſſed immortality, we ſuffered ourſelves to be dazzled by imaginary greatneſs, and the phantom of an eternity in idea.

The extracts I have made from his letters are more than ſufficient to make the reader acquainted with his genius and manners: it remains for me to give an idea of his ſtile by ſome extracts from his panegyric upon Trajan, which is an extremely elaborate piece of eloquence, and has always been conſidered as his maſter-piece.

*Panegyric upon Trajan.*

I have already obſerved, that Pliny, after his being appointed conſul by Trajan, in conjunction with Cornutus Tertullus his intimate friend, received the ſenate's orders to make that prince's panegyric in the name of the whole Empire. He addreſſes his diſcourſe always to the Emperor, as if preſent. If he were really ſo, for it is doubted, it muſt have coſt his modeſty a great deal: but, whatever repugnance he might have to hearing himſelf praiſed to his face, which is always very diſagreeable, he did not think it proper to oppoſe the Decree of ſo venerable an aſſembly. It is eaſy to judge that Pliny, on that occaſion, exerted all his faculties; to which no doubt the warmth of his gratitude added new force. Some extracts, which I am going to make from that piece, will at the ſame time ſhew the eloquence of its author, and the admirable qualities of the prince it praiſes.

*General praiſe of Trajan.*

*Sæpe ego mecum, patres conſcripti, tacitus agitavi, qualem quantumque eſſe oporteret cujus ditione nutuque maria, terræ, pax, bella regerentur: cùm interea fingenti formantique mihi principem, quem æquata diis immortalibus poteſtas deceret, nunquam voto ſaltem concipere ſuccurrit ſimilem huic quem videmus. Enituit ali-*

*quis in bello, ſed obſolevit in pace. Alium toga, ſed non & arma honeſtârunt. Reverentiam ille terrore, alius amorem humanitate captavit. Ille quæſitam domi gloriam, in publico; hic in publico partam, domi perdidit. Poſtremò, adhuc nemo extitit, cujus virtutes nullo vitiorum confinio læderentur. At principi noſtro quanta concordia quantuſque concentus omnium laudum omniſque gloriæ contigit; ut nihil ſeveritati ejus hilaritate, nihil gravitati ſimplicitate, nihil majeſtati humanitate detrahatur! Jam firmitas, jam proceritas corporis, jam honor capitis, & dignitas oris, ad hoc ætatis indefleæa maturitas, nec ſine quodam munere deûm feſtinatis ſenectutis inſignibus ad augendam majeſtatem ornata cæſaries, nonne longè latèque principem oſtentant?*

"I have often endeavoured, fathers, to form ſo "myſelf an idea of the great qualities which a per- "ſon worthy of ruling the univerſe abſolutely by "ſea and land, in peace and war, ought to have; "and I confeſs, that when I have imagined, ac- "cording to my beſt diſcretion, a prince capable "of ſuſtaining with honour a power comparable to "that of the gods, my utmoſt wiſhes have never "roſe ſo high, as even to conceive one like him "we now ſee. Some have acquired glory in war, "but loſt it in peace. *The gown has given others "fame, but the ſword diſgrace. Some have made "themſelves reſpected by terror, and others belov- "ed by humanity. Some have known how to "conciliate eſteem in their own houſes, but not to "preſerve it in public; and ſome to merit repu- "tation in public, which they have ill ſuſtained at "home. In a word we have ſeen none hitherto, "whoſe virtues have not ſuffered ſome alloy from "the neighbouring vices. But in our prince, what "an aſſemblage of all excellent qualities, what a "concurrence of every kind of glory, do we not "behold; his ſeverity loſing nothing by his chear-

* *At Rome the princes exerciſed the functions both of magiſtrates and generals.*

"fulneſs,

" fulneſs, his gravity by the ſimplicity of his man-
" ners, nor the majeſty of his power and perſon by
" the humanity of his temper and actions! The
" ſtrength and gracefulneſs of his body, the ele-
" gance of his features, the dignity of his aſpect,
" the healthy vigour of his maturer years, his hoary
" hair, which the gods ſeem to have made white
" before the time only to render him the more ve-
" nerable; do they not all combine to point out,
" to ſpeak, the ſovereign of the world."

*Trajan's conduct in the army.*

*Quid cùm ſolatium feſſis militibus, ægris opem ferres? Non tibi moris tua inire tentoria, niſi commilitonum ante luſtraſſes; nec requiem corpori, niſi poſt omnes, dare. Hac mihi admiratione dignus imperator non videretur, ſi inter Fabricios, & Scipiones, & Camillos talis eſſet. Tunc enim illum imitationis ardor, ſemperque melior aliquis accenderet. Poſtquam vero ſtudium armorum à manibus ad oculos, ad voluptatem à labore tranſlatum eſt, quam magnum eſt unum ex omnibus patrio more, patria virtute lætari, & ſine æmulo ac ſine exemplo ſecum certare, ſecum contendere: ac, ſicut imperat ſolus, ſolum ita eſſe qui debeat imperare!*

" In your care of the tired and wounded ſol-
" diers, in which none ever were more attentive,
" was it your cuſtom to retire to your own tent,
" till after having viſited all the reſt, or to take
" repoſe, till you had firſt provided for that of
" the whole army? To find ſuch a general a-
" mongſt the Fabricii, the Scipios, the Camilli,
" would ſeem no great matter of admiration. In
" thoſe days there was always ſome great example,
" ſome ſuperior, to quicken ſuch ardor, and to
" kindle in the ſoul a noble emulation. But now,
" when we love arms only in the ſhews of the
" Circus, and have transferred them from the
" hand to the eye, from fatigue and toil to paſ-
" time and amuſement, how glorious is it to be the

" only one in retaining the antient manners and
" virtues of his country, and to have no other mo-
" del to propoſe, no other rival to contend with,
" but himſelf; and, as he reigns alone, to be the
" only perſon worthy of reigning!"

*Veniet tempus, quo poſteri viſere, viſendum tradere minoribus ſuis geſtient, quis ſudores tuos hauſerit campus, quæ refectiones tuas arbores, quæ ſomnum ſaxa prætexerint, quod denique tectum magnus hoſpes impleveris, ut tunc ipſi tibi ingentium ducum ſacra veſtigia iiſdem in locis monſtrabantur.*

" The time will come, when poſterity will ea-
" gerly viſit themſelves, and ſhew to their children,
" the plains where you ſuſtained ſuch glorious la-
" bours, the trees under which you refreſhed your-
" ſelf with food, the rocks where you ſlept, and
" the houſes that were honoured with ſo great a
" gueſt: in a word, they will trace your ſacred
" footſteps every-where, as you have done thoſe
" in the ſame places of the great captains you de-
" light ſo much to contemplate."

*Itaque perinde ſummis atque infimis carus, ſic imperatorem commilitonemque miſcueras, ut ſtudium omnium laboremque & tanquam particeps ſociuſque elevares. Felices illos, quorum fides & induſtria, non per nuncios & interpretes, ſed ab ipſo te, nec auribus tuis ſed oculis probantur. Conſecuti ſunt, ut abſeiis quoque de abſentibus nemini magis, quam tibi, crederes.*

" Dear as you were alike to great and ſmall,
" you mingled the ſoldier and general in ſuch a
" manner, that, at the ſame time your office ex-
" acted their whole obedience and labours as their
" leader, you ſoftened their toils by ſharing in
" them as their companion. How happy are they
" to ſerve you, who are not informed of their zeal
" and capacity from the reports of others, but are
" yourſelf the witneſs of them in your own perſon!
" Hence to their good fortune, even when abſent,

" you

" you rely on none more than yourſelf in what re-
" lates to them."

*Trajan's return and entrance into Rome, after his being declared emperor.*

*Ac primùm qui dies ille, quo expectatus deſideratuſque urbem tuam ingreſſus es!——Non ætas quemquam, non valetudo, non ſexus retardavit quominus oculos inſolito ſpectaculo expleret. Te parvuli noſcere, oſtentare juvenes, mirari ſenes, ægri quoque neglecto medentium imperio ad conſpectum tui, tanquam ad ſalutem ſanitatemque, prorepere. Inde alii ſe ſatis vixiſſe te viſo, te recepto: alii nunc magis vivendum prædicabant. Fœminas etiam tunc fœcunditatis ſuæ maxima voluptas ſubiit, cum cernerent cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperiſſent. Videres refertà tecta ac laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non niſi ſuſpenſum & inſtabile veſtigium caperet: Oppletas undique vias, anguſtumque tramitem relictum tibi: alacrem hinc atque inde populum: ubique par gaudium, paremque clamorem.*

" What ſhall I ſay of that day, when your city,
" after having ſo long deſired and expected you,
" beheld you enter it?——Neither age, ſex, nor
" health could keep anybody from ſo unuſual a
" ſight. The children were eager to know you,
" the youth to point you out, the old to admire
" you, and even the ſick, without regard to the
" orders of their phyſicians, crept out, as if for
" the recovery of their health, to feed their eyes
" on you. Some ſaid, that they had lived long
" enough, as they had ſeen you; and others that
" they only now began to live. The women re-
" joiced that they had children, when they ſaw for
" what prince they had brought forth citizens, for
" what general ſoldiers. The roofs were all crowded
" and ready to break down under the numbers upon
" them; the very places where there was ſcarce
" room to ſtand, and not upright, were full. The
" throng was ſo vaſt in the ſtreets, that it ſcarce

" left

" you way to paſs through it: whilſt the joy and " acclamations of the people filled all places, and " reſounded univerſally to the heavens."

*The example of the prince how powerful.*

*Non cenſuram adhuc, non præfecturam morum recepiſti; quia tibi beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenii noſtra experiri placet. Et alioqui neſcio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonos eſſe patitur, quam qui cogit. Flexibiles quamcumque in partem ducimur à principe, atque ut ita dicam, ſequaces ſumus——Vita principis cenſura eſt; eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus eſt, quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magiſter eſt metus. Melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ imprimis hoc in ſe boni habent, quod approbant, quæ præcipiunt, fieri poſſe.*

" You have not yet thought fit to take the cen- " ſorſhip upon you, nor to charge yourſelf with " inſpecting into the manners of the people, be- " cauſe you chuſe rather to try our diſpoſition by " kindneſs and indulgence, than bitter remedies. " And indeed, I do not know whether the prince, " who honours the virtues of his people, does not " contribute more to them, than he who exacts " them with rigour.——The life of a prince is a " continual cenſorſhip: it is to that we adapt our- " ſelves, to that we turn as to our model; and " want leſs his commands than his example. For " fear is but a dubious, a treacherous teacher of " duty. Examples are of much greater efficacy " with men: for they not only direct to virtue, but " prove that it is not impoſſible to practiſe what " they admoniſh."

*Virtue, not ſtatues, do honour to princes.*

*Ibit in ſecula fuiſſe principem, cui florenti & incolumi nunquam niſi modici honores, ſæpius nulli decernerentur.——Ac nihil intuenti in ſapientiam tuam, minus mirum videtur, quod mortales iſtos caduceoſque titulos aut de-*

*preceris*

*preceris, aut temperes. Scis enim ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria; ubi ſint honores, in quos nihil flammis, nihil ſenectuti, nihil ſucceſſoribus liceat. Arcus enim, & ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obſcurat oblivio, negligit carpitque poſteritas: contrà, contemptor ambitionis & infinitæ poteſtatis domitor ac frænator animus ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit, nec ab ullis magis laudatur, quam quibus minimè neceſſe eſt. Præterea, ut quiſquis factus eſt princeps, extemplò fama ejus, incertum bona an mala, cæterùm æterna eſt: Non ergo perpetua principi fama, quæ invitum manet, ſed bona concupiſcenda eſt. Ea porro non imaginibus & ſtatuis, ſed virtute ac meritis propagatur.* . . . .

"It will be told in all ages, that there was a "prince to whom in the height of glory and good "fortune only moderate honours, and more fre- "quently none were decreed.—When I conſider "your profound wiſdom, my wonder ceaſes, on "ſeeing you either decline or moderate thoſe fleet- "ing vulgar titles. You know wherein the true, "the immortal glory of a prince conſiſts; you "know wherein thoſe honours have their being, "which fear neither flames, time, nor the envy of "ſucceſſors. For neither triumphal arches, ſtatues, "altars, nor even temples eſcape oblivion, and the "neglect or injuries of poſterity. But he, whoſe "exalted ſoul diſdains ambition, and ſets due "bounds to univerſal power, ſhall flouriſh to the "lateſt period of the world, revered and praiſed "by none ſo much, as thoſe who are moſt at "liberty to diſpenſe with that homage. The fame "of a prince, from the moment he becomes ſo, "whether good or bad, is neceſſarily eternal. He "ought not therefore to deſire an immortal name, "which he muſt have whether he will or no, but "a good one; and that, not ſtatues and images, "but merit and virtue perpetuate."

*The*

*The prince's happineſs inſeparable from that of the people.*

*Fuit tempus, ac nimium diu fuit, quo alia adverſa, alia ſecunda principi & nobis. Nunc communia tibi nobiſcum tam læta, quam triſtia; nec magis ſine te nos eſſe felices, quam tu ſine nobis potes. An, ſi poſſes, in fine votorum adjeciſſes,* UT ITA PRECIBUS TUIS DII ANNUERENT, SI JUDICIUM NOSTRUM MERERI PERSEVERASSES?

"There was a time, and but of too long dura-
"tion, when our misfortunes and proſperity and
"the prince's were the reverſe of each other. But
"now our good and evil are one and the ſame with
"yours; and we can no more be happy without
"you, than you without us. Had it been other-
"wiſe, would you have added at the end of your public vows, *That you deſired the gods would hear "your prayers no longer, than you perſiſted to deſerve "our love?*".

It is remarkable that a condition was inſerted by the order of Trajan himſelf in the vows made for him by the public: SI BENE REMPUBLIÇAM ET EX UTILITATE OMNIUM REXERIS: that is to ſay, *if you govern the commonwealth with juſtice, and make the good of all mankind the rule of your power.* "O
"vows, cries Pliny, worthy of being made, wor-
"thy of being eternally heard! The common-
"wealth has, by your guidance, entered into a
"contract with the gods, that they ſhould be
"watchful for your preſervation, as long as you
"are ſo for that of your country: and, if you act
"any thing to the contrary, that they ſhould with-
"draw their regard and protection from you."
*Digna vota, quæ ſemper ſuſcipiantur, ſemperque ſolvantur. Egit cum diis, ipſo te auctore, Reſpublica, ut te ſoſpitem incolumemque præſtarent, ſi tu cæteros præſtitiſſes: ſi contra, illi quoque à cuſtodia tui corporis oculos dimoverent.*

*Admirable*

*Admirable union between the wife and ſiſter of Trajan.*

*Nihil eſt tam pronum ad ſimultates quàm æmulatio, in fœminis præſertim. Ea porro maximè naſcitur ex conjunctione, alitur æqualitate, exardeſcit invidia, cujus finis eſt odium. Quo quidem admirabilius exiſtimandum eſt, quòd mulieribus duabus in una domo parique fortuna nullum certamen, nulla contentio eſt. Suſpiciunt invicem, invicem cedunt: cùmque te utraque effuſiſſimè diligat, nihil ſua putant intereſſe utram tu magis ames. Idem utrique propoſitum, idem tenor vitæ, nihilque ex quo ſentias duas eſſe.*

"Nothing is more apt to produce enmity than "emulation, eſpecially amongſt women. It ge- "nerally is moſt frequent where it ſhould leaſt be "found, I mean in families: equality nouriſhes it, "envy inflames it, the end of which is implacable "hatred. And this makes our wonder the greater, "when we behold two ladies, equal in fortune, in "the ſame palace, between whom there never hap- "pens the leaſt difference. They ſeem to contend "in paying reſpect and giving place to each other; "and, though they both love you with the utmoſt "tenderneſs, they do not think which of them you "love beſt of any conſequence. Their views, the "tenor of their lives, are ſo much the ſame, that "there is nothing in either from whence one can "diſtinguiſh them to be two perſons."

*Trajan was ſenſible to the joys of friendſhip.*

*Jam etiam & in privatorum animis exoleverat priſcum mortalium bonum amicitia, cujus in locum migraverant aſſentationes, blanditiæ, & pejor, odio amoris ſimulatio. Etenim in principum domo nomen tantum amicitiæ, inane ſcilicet irriſumque, manebat. Nam quæ poterat eſſe inter eos amicitia, quorum ſibi alii domini, alii ſervi videbantur? Tu hanc pulſam & errantem reduxiſti. Habes amicos, quia amicus ipſe es. Neque enim, ut alia ſubjectis, ita amor imperatur: neque eſt*

*ullas*

*ullus affectus tam erectus, & liber, & dominationis impatiens, nec qui magis vices exigat.*

" Friendſhip, that ineſtimable good, in which " of old the happineſs of mortals conſiſted, was " baniſhed even from the commerce of private life; " and flattery, compliment, and outward profeſ- " ſion, the phantom of friendſhip, more dangerous " even than enmity, had aſſumed its place. If the " name of friendſhip was ſtill known in the court " of the princes, it was only as the object of con- " tempt and ridicule. For what friendſhip could " ſubſiſt between thoſe, who conſidered each other " in the light of maſters and ſlaves? But you have " recalled the exile from wandering abroad: You " have friends, becauſe you are yourſelf a friend. " For the power of a prince, though he commands " without bounds in other things, does not extend " to love. Of all the affections of the ſoul, that " is the moſt free, unbiaſſed, and averſe to con- " ſtraint; none of them exacting returns with " greater rigour."

*Abſolute power of the freedmen under the bad emperors.*

*Plerique principes, cum eſſent civium domini, libertorum erant ſervi. Horum conſiliis, horum nutu regebantur: per hos audiebant, per hos loquebantur: per hos Præturæ etiam, & Sacerdotia, & Conſulatus, imò & ab his, petebantur. Tu libertis tuis ſummum quidem honorem, ſed tanquam libertis, habes; abundeque his ſufficere credis, ſi probi & frugi exiſtimentur. Scis enim, præcipuum eſſe indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos.*

" Moſt of our emperors whilſt lords of the ci- " tizens, were ſlaves to their freedmen. They go- " verned ſolely by their counſel and dictates; and " had neither will, ears, nor tongues but theirs. " By them, or rather from them, all offices; prætor, " pontifex, conſul, were to be aſked. As for you, " you have indeed a very high regard for your " freed-

" freedmen, but you regard them as freedmen, and " believe them ſufficiently honoured in the circum- " ſtances of worthy men of moderate fortune. For " you know, that there is not a more infallible proof " of the prince's meanneſs, than the greatneſs of his " freedmen."

*Nothing exalts the prince like deſcending to the man.*

*Cui nihil ad augendum faſtigium ſupereſt, hic uno modo creſcere poteſt, ſi ſe ipſe ſubmittat, ſecurus magnitudinis ſuæ. Neque enim ab ullo periculo fortuna principium longiùs abeſt, quam ab humilitate.*

" To him who has attained the higheſt fortune, " there remains but one means for exalting him- " ſelf, and that is, ſecure in his greatneſs, to neglect " and deſcend from it properly. Of all the dangers " princes can incur, the leaſt they have to fear, is " making themſelves cheap by humility.

*In what the greatneſs of princes conſiſts.*

*Ut felicitatis eſt quantum velis poſſe, ſic magnitudinis velle quantum poſſis.*

" As it is the higheſt felicity to be capable of doing " all the good you will, ſo it is the moſt exalted " greatneſs to deſire to do all the good you can."

*Of Pliny's ſtyle.*

PLINY's panegyric has always paſſed for his maſter-piece, and even in his own time, when many of his pieces of eloquence that had acquired him great reputation at the bar, were extant. In praiſing as conſul, and by order of the ſenate, ſo accompliſhed a prince as Trajan, to whoſe favour he was beſides highly indebted, it is not to be wondered that he made an extraordinary effort of genius, as well to expreſs his private gratitude, as the univerſal joy of the empire. His wit ſhines out every

Pectus eſt quod diſertos facit. *Quintil.*

every where in his diſcourſe; but his heart is ſtill more evident in it, and all know that true eloquence flows from the heart.

Ep. 18. l. 3.

When he ſpoke this panegyric, it was not ſo long as it is at preſent. It was not till after the firſt eſſay, that, like an able painter, he added new ſtrokes of art to the portrait of his hero; but all taken from the life, and which, far from altering the likeneſs and truth, only rendered them ſtronger and more ſenſible. * He gives us himſelf the reaſon that induced him to act in this manner: "My "firſt view, ſays he, was to make the emperor (if "poſſible) more in love with his own virtues, by "the charms of juſt and natural praiſes; and next "to point out to his ſucceſſors, not as a maſter, "but under the cover of example, the moſt certain paths to ſolid glory. For though it be laudable to form princes by precepts, it is difficult, "not to ſay proud and aſſuming. But to tranſmit the praiſes of a moſt excellent prince to poſterity is ſetting up a light to guide ſucceeding "emperors, and to the full as uſeful, with no arrogance." It was not eaſy for him to have propoſed a more perfect model. Trajan may be ſaid to have united all the qualities of a great prince in one only, which was in being perfectly convinced, that he was not emperor for himſelf, but for his people. But that is not the preſent queſtion.

The ſtile of his diſcourſe is elegant, florid, and luminous, as that of a panegyric ought to be, in

* Officium conſulatûs injunxit mihi ut Reip. nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu cùm ad rationem & loci & temporis ex more feciſſem, bono civi convenientiſſimum credidi, eadem illa ſpatioſiùs & uberiùs volumine amplecti. Primùm, ut Imperatori noſtro virtutes ſuæ veris laudibus commendarentur: deinde ut futuri Principes, non quaſi à magiſtro, ſed tamen ſub exemplo præmonerentur, qua potiſſimum via poſſent ad eandem gloriam niti. Nam præcipere qualis eſſe debeat Princeps, pulcrum quidem, ſed oneroſum ac prope ſuperbum eſt. Laudare verò optimum Principem, ac per hoc poſteris, velut è ſpeculo, lumen quod ſequantur oſtendere, idem utilitatis habet, arrogantiæ nihil.

which

which it is allowable to diſplay with pomp whatever is moſt ſhining in eloquence. The thoughts in it are fine, ſolid, very numerous, and often ſeem entirely new. The diction, though generally ſimple enough, has nothing low, or that does not ſuit the ſubject, and ſupport its dignity. The deſcriptions are lively, natural, circumſtantial, and full of happy images, which ſet the object before the eyes, and render it ſenſible. The whole piece abounds with maxims and ſentiments truly worthy of the prince it praiſes.

As fine and eloquent as this diſcourſe is, it cannot however in my opinion be judged of the ſublime kind. We do not ſee in it, as in Cicero's orations, I mean even of the demonſtrative kind, thoſe warm and emphatical expreſſions, noble and ſublime thoughts, bold and affecting turns and ſallies, and figures full of vivacity and fire, which ſurpriſe, aſtoniſh, and tranſport the ſoul out of itſelf. His eloquence does not reſemble thoſe great rivers that roll their waves with noiſe and majeſty, but rather a clear and agreeable ſtream which flows gently under the ſhade of the trees that adorn its banks. Pliny leaves his reader perfectly calm and in his natural ſituation of mind. He pleaſes, but by parts and paſſages. A kind of monotony prevails throughout his whole panegyric, which makes it not eaſy to bear the reading of it to the end; whereas Cicero's longeſt oration ſeems the fineſt, and gives the moſt pleaſure. To this I muſt add, that Pliny's ſtile favours a little of the taſte for antitheſes, broken thoughts, and ſtudied turns of phraſe, which prevailed in his time. He did not abandon himſelf to them, but was obliged to give into the mode. The ſame taſte is obvious in his letters, but with leſs offence, becauſe they are all detached pieces, in which ſuch a ſtile does not diſpleaſe: I believe them however far from being comparable to thoſe of Cicero. But, all things

rightly conſidered, Pliny's letters and panegyric deſerve the eſteem and approbation all ages have given them; to which I ſhall add, that his tranſlator (into French) ought to ſhare them with him.

*Antient Panegyrics.*

There is a collection of Latin orations extant, intitled *Panegyrici veteres*, which contains panegyrics upon ſeveral of the Roman emperors. That of Pliny is at the head of them, with eleven of the ſame kind after it. This collection, beſides including abundance of facts not to be found elſewhere, may be of great uſe to ſuch as have occaſion to compoſe panegyrics. The Antients of a better age ſupply us with no models of this kind of diſcourſes, except Cicero's oration for the Manilian law, and ſome parts of his other harangues, which are finiſhed maſter-pieces of the demonſtrative kind. The ſame beauty and delicacy are not to be expected in the panegyrics of which I am ſpeaking. Remoteneſs from the Auguſtan age had occaſioned a great decline of eloquence, which no longer retained that antient purity of language, beauty of expreſſion, ſobriety of ornaments, and ſimple and natural air, that roſe, when neceſſary, into an admirable loftineſs and ſublimity of ſtile. But there is abundance of wit in theſe diſcourſes, with very fine thoughts, happy turns, lively deſcriptions, and extremely ſolid praiſes.

To give the reader ſome idea of them, I ſhall content myſelf with tranſcribing two paſſages here in Latin only. They are extracted from the panegyric ſpoken by Nazarius in honour of Conſtantine
A.D. 321. the Great, upon the birth-day of the two Cæſars his ſons. St. Jerom mentions this Nazarius as a celebrated orator, and ſays that he had a daughter no leſs eſteemed than himſelf for eloquence.

*First paſſage.*

Nazarius ſpeaks here of the two Cæſars: *Nobiliſſimorum Cæſarum laudes exequi velle, ſtudium quidem dulce, ſed non & cura mediocris eſt; quorum in annis pubeſcentibus non erupturæ virtutis tumens germen, non flos præcurſor indolis bonæ lætior quam uberior apparet; ſed jam facta grandifera, & contra rationem ætatis maximorumque fructuum matura perceptio. Quorum alter jam obterendis hoſtibus gravis terrorem paternum, quo ſemper barbaria omnis intremuit, derivare ad nomen ſuum cœpit: alter jam Conſulatum, jam venerationem ſui, jam patrem ſentiens, ſi quid intactum aut parens aut frater reſervet, declarat mox victorem futurum, qui animo jam vincit ætatem. Rapitur quippe ad ſimilitudinem ſuorum excellens quæque natura, nec ſenſim ac lentè indicium promit boni, cum involucra infantiæ vividum rumpit ingenium.*

*Second paſſage.*

Nazarius praiſes a virtue in Conſtantine very rarely found in princes, but highly eſtimable, that is, continence. He adds alſo ſeveral other praiſes to it:

*Jam illa vix audeo de tanto Principe commemorare, quod nullam matronarum, cui forma emendatior fuerit, boni ſui piguit; cum ſub abſtinentiſſimo Imperatore ſpecies luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ eſſet, ſed pudoris ornatrix. Quæ ſine dubio magna, ſeu potius divina laudatio, ſæpe & in ipſis etiam philoſophis, non tam re exhibita, quam diſputatione jactata. Sed remittamus hoc principi noſtro, qui ita temperantiam ingenerare omnibus cupit, ut eam non ad virtutum ſuarum decus adſcribendam, ſed ad naturæ ipſius honeſtatem referendam arbitretur. Quid, faciles aditus? quid, aures patientiſſimas? quid, benigna reſponſa? quid, vultum ipſum auguſti decoris gravitate, hilaritate permixta, venerandum quiddam & amabile renidentem, quis digne exequi poſſit?*

Can any thing be more ſolid than this thought? *No lady, however beautiful, has had reaſon to repent her being ſo; becauſe, under ſo wiſe a prince as Conſtantine, beauty is not an attraction to vice, but the ornament of virtue.* And could it be better expreſſed? *Cùm ſub abſtinentiſſimo Imperatore ſpecies luculenta, non incitatrix licentiæ eſſet, ſed pudoris ornatrix.*

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

## OF THE SUPERIOR SCIENCES.

WE are now come to that part of literature which is the greateſt and moſt exalted in the order of natural knowledge, I mean Philoſophy, and the Mathematics that are a branch of it. The latter have under them a great number of Arts and Sciences, which either depend upon or relate to them. The ſtudy of theſe requires, for ſucceeding in it, force and extent of mind, which natural qualities it highly improves. It is eaſy to conceive that ſubjects ſo various, extenſive, and important, can only be treated very ſuperficially in this place: neither do I pretend to take them all in, or to give an exact detail of them here. I ſhall confine myſelf to the moſt ſelect, and ſhall treat of what ſeems moſt proper to gratify, or rather to excite, the curioſity of readers

little verſed in ſuch matters, and to give them ſome idea of the hiſtory of the great men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe ſciences, and of the improvements they have acquired in coming down from the antients to the moderns. For it is not here as in polite learning (the *Belles-Lettres,)* in which, to ſay no more, it is moſt certain that the latter ages have added nothing to the productions of Athens and Rome.

All the ſciences, of which I am to ſpeak here, may be divided into two parts; Philoſophy and the Mathematics. Philoſophy will be the ſubject of this twenty-ſixth book; and Mathematics of the following, which will be the laſt.

# OF PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOHY is the ſtudy of nature and morality founded on the evidence of reaſon. This ſcience was at firſt called σοφία, *Wiſdom*; and the profeſſors of it σοφοὶ, *Sages* or *Wiſemen*. Thoſe names ſeemed too arrogant to Pythagoras, for which reaſon he ſubſtituted more modeſt ones to them, calling this ſcience *Philoſophy*, that is to ſay, love of wiſdom; and thoſe who taught or applied themſelves to it *Philoſophers*, lovers of wiſdom.

Almoſt in all times and in all civiliſed nations, there have been ſtudious perſons of exalted genius who cultivated this ſcience with great application: the Prieſts in Egypt, the Magi in Perſia, the Chaldeans in Babylon, the Brachmans or Gymnoſophiſts in India, and the Druids amongſt the Gauls. Though philoſophy owes its origin to ſeveral of thoſe I have now mentioned, I ſhall conſider it here only as it appeared in Greece, which gave it new luſtre, and became in a manner its ſchool in general. Not only ſome particulars, diſperſed here and there in different regions, from time to time, make happy efforts, and by their writings and reputation give a ſhining, but ſhort and tranſient, light; but Greece, by a ſingular privilege, brought up and formed in her boſom, during a long and uninterrupted ſeries of ages, a multitude, or, to ſpeak more properly, a people of philoſophers, ſolely employed in inquiring after truth; many of whom with that view renounced their fortunes, quitted

their countries, undertook long and laborious voyages, and paſſed their whole lives to extreme old age in ſtudy.

Can we believe that this tenacious concurrence of learned and ſtudious perſons, of ſo long duration in one and the ſame country, was the mere effect of chance, and not of a peculiar Providence, which excited ſo numerous a ſucceſſion of philoſophers to ſupport and perpetuate antient tradition concerning certain eſſential and capital truths? How uſeful were their precepts upon morality, upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the growth or rather inundation of depravity and vice? For inſtance, what hideous diſorder had taken place, if the Epicurean had been the ſole prevailing ſect! How much did their diſputes conduce to preſerve the important doctrines of the difference between matter and mind, the immortality of the ſoul, and the exiſtence of a ſupreme Being! * It is not to be doubted but God has diſcovered admirable principles to them upon all theſe points, preferably to the many other nations whom barbarity continued in profound ignorance.

It is indeed true, that many of theſe philoſophers advanced ſtrange abſurdities. And even all of them, according to St. Paul, *held the truth in unrighteouſneſs—becauſe that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful.* None of their ſchools had ever the courage to maintain or prove the unity of God, though all the great philoſophers were fully convinced of that truth. God has been pleaſed by their example to teach us, what man abandoned to himſelf, and his mere capacity, is. During four hundred years and upwards, all theſe great geniuſſes, ſo ſubtile, penetrating, and profound, were inceſſantly diſputing, examining, and dogmatiſing, without being able to

Rom. i. 18—21.

* *Becauſe that which may be known of God, is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it unto them.* Rom. i. 19.

agree

agree upon, or conclude any thing. They were not deſtined by God to be the light of the world: *Thoſe did not the Lord chuſe, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them.* Baruch iii. 27.

Philoſophy, amongſt the Greeks, was divided into two great ſects: the one called the *Ionic*, founded by Thales of Ionia; the other the *Italic*, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed by Pythagoras in that part of Italy, called *Græcia Magna*. Both the one and the other were divided into many other branches, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

This in general is the ſubject of my intended diſſertation upon the philoſophy of the antients. It would ſwell to an immenſe ſize, were I to treat it in all its extent, which does not ſuit my plan. I ſhall content myſelf, therefore, in giving the hiſtory and opinions of the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt theſe philoſophers, with relating what ſeems moſt important and inſtructive, and beſt adapted to gratify the juſt curioſity of a reader, who conſiders the actions and principles of theſe philoſophers as an eſſential part of hiſtory, but a part of which it ſuffices to have a ſuperficial knowledge and general idea. My guides amongſt the antients will be Cicero in his philoſophical works, and Diogenes Laertius in his treatiſe upon the philoſophers; and, amongſt the moderns, the learned Engliſhman Mr. Stanley, who has compoſed an excellent work upon this ſubject.

I ſhall divide my diſſertation into two parts. In the firſt, I ſhall relate the hiſtory of the philoſophers, without dwelling much upon their opinions; in the ſecond, I ſhall treat the hiſtory of philoſophy itſelf, and the principal maxims of the different ſects.

PART

# PART THE FIRST.

## HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS.

I Shall run over all the Sects of antient philoſophy, and give a brief hiſtory of the philoſophers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in each.

## CHAPTER I.

### HISTORY of the PHILOSOPHERS

*Of the Ionic ſect, to their diviſion into various branches.*

THE IONIC SECT, to reckon from Thales, who is conſidered as the founder of it, down to Philo and Antiochus that Cicero heard, ſubſiſted above five hundred years.

### THALES.

Diog. Laert. A. M. 3364. Ant. J. C. 640.

THALES was of Miletus, a famous city of Ionia. He came into the world the firſt year of the XXXVth Olympiad.

To improve himſelf in the knowledge of the moſt learned perſons of thoſe times, he made ſeveral voyages, according to the cuſtom of the antients; at firſt into the iſland of Crete, then into Phœnicia, and afterwards into Egypt, where he conſulted the prieſts of Memphis, who cultivated the ſuperior ſciences with extreme application. Under theſe great maſters he learned geometry, aſtronomy, and philoſophy. A pupil of this kind does not long continue ſo. Thales accordingly proceeded very ſoon from leſſons to diſcoveries. His maſters of Memphis learned from him the method of meaſuring

ſuring exactly the immenſe pyramids which ſtill ſubſiſt.

Egypt was at that time governed by Amaſis, a prince who loved letters, becauſe he was very learned himſelf. He ſet all the value it deſerved upon the merit of Thales, and gave him public marks of his eſteem. But that Greek philoſopher, who was fond of liberty and independence, had not the talents for ſupporting himſelf in a court. He was a great aſtronomer, a great geometrician, and an excellent philoſopher, but a bad courtier. The too free manner in which he declaimed againſt tyranny diſpleaſed Amaſis, and made him conceive impreſſions of diſtruſt and fear of him, to his prejudice, which he did not take too much pains to remove, and which were followed ſoon after with his entire diſgrace. Greece was the better for it. Thales quitted the court, and returned to Miletus to diffuſe the treaſures of Egypt in the boſom of his country.

The great progreſs he had made in the ſciences, occaſioned his being ranked in the number of the ſeven ſages of Greece, ſo famed among the antients. Of theſe ſeven ſages, only Thales founded a ſect of philoſophers, becauſe he applied himſelf to the contemplation of nature, formed a ſchool and a ſyſtem of doctrines, and had diſciples and ſucceſſors. The others made themſelves remarkable only by a more regular kind of life, and ſome precepts of morality which they gave occaſionally.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of theſe ſages with ſome extent; as well as of many circumſtances of the life of Thales: of his reſidence in the court of Crœſus king of Lydia, and his converſation with Solon. I have repeated there the ſenſible pleaſantry of a woman who ſaw him fall into a ditch, whilſt he was contemplating the ſtars: *How*, ſaid ſhe to him, *ſhould you know what paſſes in the heavens, when you do not ſee what is juſt at your feet?* and

*Antient Hiſtory*, Vol. II. *towards the end.*

and his ingenious manner of evading his mother, when ſhe preſſed him earneſtly to marry, by anſwering her, when he was young, *It is too ſoon yet*; and, after his return from Egypt, *It is too late now.*

The reaſons, which had prevented Thales from giving himſelf chains by entering into the married ſtate, made him prefer a life of tranquillity to the moſt ſplendid employments. Prompted by a warm deſire of knowing nature, he ſtudied it aſſiduouſly in the happy leiſure which a ſtrict retirement afforded him, impenetrable to tumult and noiſe, but open to all whom the love of truth, or occaſion for his counſel, brought to him. He quitted it very rarely; and that only to take a frugal repaſt at the houſe of his friend Thraſybulus, who by [illegible] ties became king of Miletus, at the time of the treaty made by that city with Alyattes king of Lydia.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 25. Apul Florid.

Cicero tells us, that Thales was the firſt of the Greeks who treated the ſubject of phyſics.

The glory of having made ſeveral fine diſcoveries in aſtronomy is aſcribed to him: of which one, that relates to the magnitude of the ſun's diameter compared with the circle of his annual motion, gave him great pleaſure. Accordingly a rich man, to whom he had imparted it, offering that philoſopher whatever reward he thought fit for it, Thales aſked him no other, but that he would give the honour of the diſcovery to its author. This is an inſtance of the character of the learned, who are infinitely more ſenſible to the honour of a new diſcovery than to the greateſt rewards; and of the truth of what * Tacitus ſays in ſpeaking of Helvidius Priſcus, *That the laſt thing the wiſe themſelves renounce is the deſire of glory.* He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ability in foretelling the eclipſes of the ſun and moon with great exactneſs, which was conſidered in thoſe times as a very wonderful matter.

* Erant quibus appetentior famæ videbatur, quando etiam ſapientibus cupido gloriæ noviſſima exuitur. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. 4. c. 6.

St.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus repeats two fine ſayings of Thales, after Diogenes Laertius: * Being aſked one day what God was, he anſwered, *That which has neither beginning nor end.* Another aſking him whether a man could conceal his actions from God? *How can that be*, replied he, *as it is not in his power to conceal even his thoughts from him.* † Valerius Maximus adds, that Thales ſpoke thus, that the idea of God's preſence to the moſt ſecret thoughts of the ſoul might induce men to keep their hearts as pure as their hands. Cicero makes exactly the ſame remark, though in terms ſomething different. ‡ Thales, ſays he, who was the wiſeſt of the ſeven ſages, believed it of the laſt importance for men to be convinced, that the Divinity filled all places, and ſaw all things, which would render them in conſequence wiſer and more religious.

He died in the firſt year of the LVIIIth olympiad, aged fourſcore and twelve, during his being preſent at the celebration of the Olympic games. A. M. 3456. Ant. J. C. 548.

## ANAXIMANDER.

Thales had for his ſucceſſor Anaximander, his diſciple and countryman. Hiſtory has preſerved no particular circumſtances of his life. He departed from his maſter's doctrine in many points. It is ſaid that he forewarned the Lacædemonians of the dreadful earthquake which deſtroyed their city. He was ſucceeded by ANAXIMENES. Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 112.

* Rogatus Thales quid ſit Deus? Id, inquit, quod neque habet principium, nec finem. Cùm autem rogaſſet alius, an Deum lateat homo aliquid agens: Et quomodo, inquit, qui ne cogitans quidem?

† Mirificè Thales. Nam interrogatus an facta hominum deos fallerent; nec cogitata, inquit. Ut non ſolùm manus, ſed etiam mentes puras habere vellemus; cùm ſecretis cogitationibus noſtris cœleſte numen adeſſe crederemus. *Val. Max.* l. 7. c. 2.

‡ Thales, qui ſapientiſſimus inter ſeptem fuit, dicebat, Homines exiſtimare oportere deos omnia cernere, deorum omnia eſſe plena: fore enim omnes caſtiores. *Cic. de leg. n.* 2. *l.* 36.

ANAX-

## ANAXAGORAS.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the moſt illuſtrious philoſophers of antiquity, was born at Clazomenæ in Ionia, about the LXXth olympiad, and was the diſciple of Anaximenes. The nobility of his extraction, his riches, and the generoſity which induced him to abandon his patrimony, rendered him very conſiderable. * Believing the cares of a family and an eſtate obſtacles to his taſte for contemplation, he renounced them abſolutely, in order to devote his whole time and application to the ſtudy of wiſdom, and the inquiry after truth, which were his only pleaſures. † When he returned into his own country after a long voyage, and ſaw all his lands lie abandoned and uncultivated, far from regretting the loſs, he cried out, *I ſhould have been undone, if all this had not been ruined.* Socrates, in his ironical way, affirmed that the ſophiſts of his time had more wiſdom than Anaxagoras; as, inſtead of renouncing their eſtates like him, they laboured ſtrenuouſly to inrich themſelves, convinced as they were of the ſtupidity of old times, and that THE WISE MAN OUGHT TO BE WISE FOR HIMSELF, that is to ſay, that they ought to employ their whole pains and induſtry in amaſſing as much money as poſſible.

A. M. 3456. Ant. J. C. 500.

Plat. in Hipp. maj. p. 283.

Anaxagoras, in order to apply himſelf wholly to ſtudy, renounced the cares and honours of government. No man however was more capable of ſucceeding in public affairs. We may judge of his abilities in that way from the wonderful progreſs made by his pupil Pericles in policy. It was to

Plut. in Peric. p. 154.

* Quid aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuiquam docto defuiſſe unquam arbitramur? An, ni ita ſe res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipſe Democritus, agros & patrimonia ſua reliquiſſent, huic diſcendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto ſe animo dediſſent? *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 114 & 115.*

† Cum è diutina peregrinatione patriam repetiſſet, puſſeſſioneſque deſertas vidiſſet: NON ESSEM, inquit, EGO SALVUS, NISI ISTÆ PERIISSENT. *Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.*

him

him he was indebted for thoſe grave and majeſtic manners that rendered him ſo capable of governing the commonwealth. It was he that laid the foundation of that ſublime and triumphant eloquence which acquired him ſo much power, and who taught him to fear the gods without ſuperſtition. In a word, he was his counſellor, and aſſiſted him with his advice in the moſt important affairs, as Pericles himſelf declared. I have elſewhere mentioned the little care the latter took of his maſter, and that Anaxagoras, wanting the neceſſaries of life, reſolved to ſuffer himſelf to die of hunger. Pericles upon this news flew to his houſe, and earneſtly intreated him to renounce ſo melancholy a reſolution: *When one would uſe a lamp*, replied the philoſopher, *one takes care to ſupply it with oil, that it may not go out.* Plut. in Peric. p. 162.

Wholly engroſſed in the ſtudy of the ſecrets of nature, which was his paſſion, he had equally abandoned riches and public affairs. Upon being aſked one day, whether he had no manner of regard for the good of his country? *Yes, yes*, ſaid he, lifting up his hand towards heaven, *I have an extreme regard for the good of my country.* He was aſked another time to what end he was born? to which he anſwered, *To contemplate the ſun, moon, and ſkies.* Is that then the end to which man is deſtined? Diog. Laert.

He came to Athens at the age of twenty, about the firſt year of the LXXVth olympiad, very near the time of Xerxes's expedition againſt Greece. Some authors ſay, that he brought thither the ſchool of philoſophy which had flouriſhed in Ionia from its founder Thales. He continued and taught at Athens during thirty years. Diog. Laert. A. M. 3484. Ant. J. C. 480.

The circumſtances and event of the proſecution fomented againſt him at Athens for impiety are differently related. The opinion of thoſe who believe that Pericles could find no ſurer method for preſerving that philoſopher, than to make him quit Athens, ſeems the moſt probable. The reaſon, or rather

rather the pretext, for ſo heavy an accuſation was, that, in teaching upon the nature of the ſun, he defined it *a maſs of burning matter*; as if he had thereby degraded the ſun, and excluded it from the number of the gods. It is not eaſy to comprehend how, in ſo learned a city as Athens, a philoſopher ſhould not be allowed to explain the properties of the ſtars by phyſical reaſons, without hazarding his life. But the whole affair was an intrigue and a cabal of the enemies of Pericles, who were for deſtroying him, and endeavoured to render himſelf ſuſpected of impiety, from his great intimacy with this philoſopher.

Anaxagoras was found guilty through contumacy, and condemned to die. When he received this news, he ſaid, without ſhewing any emotion: *Nature has long ago paſſed ſentence of death upon my judges, as well as me.* He remained at Lampſacus during the reſt of his life. In his laſt ſickneſs, upon his friends aſking him whether he would have his body carried to Clazomenæ after his death? * *No*, ſaid he, *that's unneceſſary. The way to the infernal* † *regions is as long from one place as another.* When the principal perſons of the city came to receive his laſt orders, and to know what he deſired of them after his death; he replied, nothing, except that the youth might have leave to play every year upon the day of his death. This was done accordingly, and continued a cuſtom to the time of Diogenes Laertius. He is ſaid to have lived ſixty-two years. Great honours were paid, and even an altar erected, to him.

* Nihil neceſſe eſt, inquit: undique enim ad inferos tantundem viæ eſt. *Cic.* 1. *Tuſc.* n. 104.

† Infernal regions, *or hell. The antients underſtood by this word the place to which the ſouls of all men go after death.*

## ARCHELAUS.

ARCHELAUS, of Athens according to ſome, and of Miletus according to others, was the diſciple and ſucceſſor of Anaxagoras, in whoſe doctrine he made little alteration. Some ſay that it was he who tranſported philoſophy from Ionia to Athens. He confined himſelf principally to the phyſics, as his predeceſſors had done: but he introduced the ethics a little more than them. He formed a diſciple, who placed them highly in honour, and made them his capital ſtudy.

## SOCRATES.

This diſciple of Archelaus was the famous Socrates, who had been alſo the pupil of Anaxagoras. He was born in the fourth year of the LXXVIIth Olympiad, and died the firſt of the XCVth, after having lived ſeventy years. A. M. 3534. A. M. 3604.

Cicero has obſerved in more than one place, that Socrates, conſidering that all the vain ſpeculations upon the things of nature tended to nothing uſeful, and did not contribute to render man more virtuous, devoted himſelf ſolely to the ſtudy of morality. * *He was the firſt*, ſays he, *who brought philoſophy down from heaven*, where ſhe had been employed till then in contemplating the courſe of the ſtars; *who eſtabliſhed her in cities, introduced her into private houſes, and obliged her to direct her inquiries to what concerned the manners, duties, virtues, and vices of life.* Socrates is therefore conſidered with reaſon as the founder of moral philoſophy amongſt the Greeks. Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 15.

This was not becauſe he had not perfectly ſtudied the other branches of philoſophy: he poſſeſſed them all in a ſupreme degree, having induſtriouſly formed

* Socrates primus philoſophiam devocavit è cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebuſque bonis & malis quærere. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 5. n. 10.

Epiſt. ad Æſchin. himſelf in them. But, as he judged them of little uſe in the conduct of life, he made little uſe of them: and, if we may believe Xenophon, he was never heard in his diſputes to mention either aſtronomy, geometry, or the other ſublime ſciences, that before him had ſolely employed the philoſophers; in which Xenophon ſeems deſignedly to contradict and refute Plato, who often puts ſubjects of that kind into the mouth of Socrates.

I ſhall ſay nothing here either of the circumſtances of the life and death of Socrates, or of his opinions: I have done that elſewhere with ſufficient extent. It only remains for me to ſpeak of his diſciples, who, though all of them made it their honour to acknowledge Socrates their chief, were divided in their opinions.

*Ant. Hiſt.* Vol. IV.

## XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was certainly one of the moſt illuſtrious diſciples of Socrates, but did not form a ſect; for which reaſon I ſeparate him from the reſt. He was as great a warrior as philoſopher. I have related at large the ſhare he had in the famous retreat of the Ten Thouſand.

*Ant. Hiſt.* Vol. IV.

His adherence to the party of young Cyrus, who had declared himſelf openly againſt the Athenians, drew upon him their hatred, and occaſioned his baniſhment. After his return from the expedition againſt Artaxerxes, he attached himſelf to Ageſilaus king of Sparta, who then commanded in Aſia. As Ageſilaus knew perfectly well how to diſtinguiſh merit, he had always a moſt peculiar regard for Xenophon, and, upon being recalled by the Ephori for the defence of his country, carried the Athenian general thither along with him. Xenophon after various events retired to Corinth with his two ſons, where he paſſed the reſt of his days. In the war between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, when the people of Athens reſolved to aid the latter, he

Diog. Laërt.

he ſent his two ſons to that city. Gryllus ſignaliſed himſelf in a peculiar manner in the battle of Mantinæa, and ſome pretend that it was he who wounded Epaminondas in the action. He did not ſurvive ſo glorious an exploit long, but was killed himſelf. The news of his death was brought to his father, whilſt he was offering a ſacrifice. Upon hearing it he took the wreath from his head; but, upon being informed by the courier, that his ſon fell fighting gloriouſly, he immediately put it on again, and continued the ſacrifice without ſhedding a ſingle tear, ſaying coldly, *I knew the ſon to whom I gave life was not immortal.* Might not this be called a conſtancy, or rather hardneſs of heart, truly Spartan?

Xenophon died the firſt year of the CVth Olympiad, aged fourſcore and ten. A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of his works. He was the firſt that reduced to writing and publiſhed the diſcourſes of Socrates, but exactly as they came from his mouth and without any additions of his own, as Plato made to them.

It is pretended that there was a ſecret jealouſy between thoſe two philoſophers, little worthy of the name they bore, and the profeſſion of wiſdom upon which they both piqued themſelves: and ſome proofs are given of this jealouſy. Plato never mentions Xenophon * in any of his books, which are very numerous, nor Xenophon him, though they both frequently ſpeak of the diſciples of Socrates. Beſides which, all the world knows that the Cyropædia of Xenophon is a book, in which, relating the hiſtory of Cyrus, whoſe education he extols, he lays down the model of an accompliſhed prince, and the idea of a perfect government. We are told, that he compoſed this piece with no other deſign but to contradict Plato's Commonwealth, Aul. Gell. l. 14. c. 3.

* *Voſſius has obſerved that Xenophon has ſpoke once of Plato, but only in mentioning his name.* Memorab. l. 3. p. 772.

which had lately appeared; and that Plato was ſo angry upon that account, that, to diſcredit this work, he ſpoke of Cyrus, in a book which he afterwards wrote, as of a prince indeed of great courage and love of his country, but one * whoſe education had been very bad. Aulus Gellius, who relates what I have now ſaid, cannot imagine that two ſuch great philoſophers, as thoſe in queſtion, could be capable of ſo mean a jealouſy; (it is however but too common amongſt men of letters) and he chuſes rather to aſcribe it to their admirers and partiſans. And indeed it often happens that diſciples, through a too partial zeal, are more delicate in reſpect to the reputation of their maſters, and urge what concerns them with greater warmth, than themſelves.

De leg. l. 3. p. 697.

* Παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς οὐχ ἥφθαι τὸ παράπαν.

## CHAPTER II.

*Diviſion of the Ionic philoſophy into different ſects.*

BEFORE Socrates there had been no different ſects amongſt the philoſophers, though their opinions were not always the ſame: but from his time many roſe up, of which ſome ſubſiſted longer in vogue, and others were of ſhorter duration. I ſhall begin with the latter, which are the Cyrenaic, Megarean, Elian, and Eretrian ſects. They take their names from the places where they were inſtituted.

### ARTICLE I.

*Of the Cyrenaic ſect.*

### ARISTIPPUS.

ARISTIPPUS was the chief of the Cyrenaic ſect. He was originally of Cyrene in Libya. The great reputation of Socrates induced him to quit his country, in order to ſettle at Athens and to have the pleaſure of hearing him. He was one of that philoſopher's principal diſciples: but he led a life very repugnant to the precepts taught in that excellent ſchool, and when he returned into his own country, opened a very different courſe for his diſciples. The great principle of his doctrine was, that the ſupreme good of man during this life is pleaſure. His manners did not belie his opinions, and he employed a ready and agreeable turn of wit in eluding, by pleaſantries, the juſt reproaches made him on account of his exceſſes. He perpetually abandoned himſelf to feaſting and women. * When he Laert.

* Ne Ariſtippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit, cùm eſſet objectum habere eum Laida: *Habeo*, inquit, *Laida. non habeor à Laide.* Cic. Ep. 26. l. 9. ad Fam.

was raillied upon his commerce with the courtezan Lais: *True*, ſaid he, *I poſſeſs Lais, but not Lais me.* Upon being reproached for living with too much ſplendor, he replied: *If good living were a crime, there would not be ſo much feaſting on the feſtivals of the gods.*

The reputation of Dionyſius the tyrant, whoſe court was the centre of pleaſures, whoſe purſe was ſaid to be always open to the learned, and whoſe table was always ſerved with the utmoſt magnificence, drew him to Syracuſe. As his wit was ſupple, ready, and inſinuating, and he omitted no occaſion of ſoothing the prince, and bore his raillery and intervals of bad humour with a patience next to ſlaviſh, he had abundance of credit in that court. Dionyſius aſking him one day, why philoſophers were always ſeen in the houſes of the great, and the great never in thoſe of philoſophers? *It is*, replied Ariſtippus, *becauſe philoſophers know what they want, and the great don't.*

*If Ariſtippus could content himſelf with herbs*, ſaid Diogenes the Cynic to him, *he would not be ſo baſe as to court princes. If my critic*, replied Ariſtippus, *knew how to make his court to princes, he would not content himſelf with herbs.*

*Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti,*
*Nollet Ariſtippus. Si ſciret Regibus uti,*
*Faſtidiret olus qui me notat.* Hor. Ep. 17. l. 1.

The one's view was good living, the other's to be admired by the people.

*Scurror ego ipſe mihi, populo tu.*

And which is beſt? Horace, without heſitating, gives Ariſtippus the preference, whom he praiſes in more than one place. He reſembled him too much himſelf, not to do ſo. However he dares not abandon

don himſelf to the principles of Ariſtippus, and falls inſenſibly into them by propenſity of nature.

*Nunc in Ariſtippi furtim præcepta relabor.*
Id. Ep. 1. l. 1.

So mean is the love of pleaſure, that, let thoſe who give themſelves up to it diſſemble ever ſo well, they cannot intirely conceal their ſhame!

Ariſtippus was the firſt diſciple of Socrates that took a certain præmium from thoſe he taught, which gave his maſter great offence. Having demanded fifty drachma's of a man for teaching his ſon: "How fifty drachma's, cried the father! Why that's enough "to buy a ſlave. Indeed? replied Ariſtippus, "buy him then, and you'll have two." *About 25 ſhillings.*

Ariſtippus died on his return from Syracuſe to Cyrene. He had a daughter, named Areta, whom he took great care to educate in his own principles, in which ſhe became a great proficient. She inſtructed her ſon Ariſtippus, ſurnamed Μητροδίδακτος, in them herſelf.

## THEODORUS.

THEODORUS, the diſciple of Ariſtippus, beſide the other principles of the Cyrenaics, publicly taught that there were no gods. The people of Cyrene baniſhed him. He took refuge at Athens, where he would have been tried and condemned in the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus had not found means to ſave him. Ptolomy the ſon of Lagus received him into his ſervice, and ſent him once as his ambaſſador to Lyſimachus. The philoſopher ſpoke to that prince with ſo much impudence, that one of his miniſters, who was preſent, told him: *I fancy, Theodorus, you imagine there are no kings, as well as no gods.* Laert.

It is believed that this philoſopher was at laſt condemnd to die, and obliged to take poiſon.

We ſee here that the impious doctrine of atheiſm, contrary to the general and immemorial belief of mankind, ſcandaliſed and offended all nations ſo much, as to be deemed worthy of death. It owes its birth to teachers abandoned to the debaucheries of women and the table, and who propoſe to themſelves the pleaſures of the ſenſes as the great ends of being.

## ARTICLE II.

### *Of the Megarean ſect.*

IT was inſtituted by EUCLID, who was of Megara, a city of Achaia, near the Iſthmus of Corinth. He actually ſtudied under Socrates at Athens, at the time of the famous decree, that partly occaſioned the Peloponneſian war, by which the citizens of Megara were prohibited to ſet foot in Athens upon pain of death. So great a danger could not abate his zeal for the ſtudy of wiſdom. In the diſguiſe of a woman he entered the city in the evening, paſſed the night with Socrates and went back before light, going regularly every day almoſt ten leagues forwards and backwards. There are few examples of ſo warm and conſtant an ardour for knowledge.

Amplius viginti millia.

He departed very little from his maſter's opinions. After the death of Socrates, Plato and other philoſophers, who apprehended the effects of it, retired to him at Megara, who gave them a very good reception. His brother one day in great rage upon ſome particular ſubject of diſcontent, ſaying to him: *May I periſh, if I am not revenged on you. And may I periſh*, replied Euclid *if my kindneſs does not at length correct this violence of your temper, and make you as much my friend as ever.*

The Euclid, of whom we ſpeak, is not Euclid the mathematician, who was alſo of Megara, but flouriſhed above ninety years after under the firſt of the Ptolomy's.

His

His ſucceſſor was EUBULIDES, who had been his diſciple. Diodorus ſucceeded the latter. We find in the ſequel, that theſe three philoſophers contributed very much to the introduction into logical diſputations of a bad taſte for ſubtile reaſonings, founded ſolely upon ſophiſms.

I ſhall almoſt paſs over in ſilence what regards the Elian and Eretrian ſects, which include few things of any importance.

## ARTICLE III.

### *Of the Elian and Eretrian ſects.*

I Confound theſe two ſects together, and reduce what I have to ſay of them to a few words, as they contain nothing important.

The *Elian* ſect was founded by Phædon, one of the favourite diſciples of Socrates. He was of Elis in Peloponneſus.

The *Eretrian* was ſo called from Eretria a city of Eubœa, the country of Menedemus, its founder.

## ARTICLE IV.

### *Of the three ſects of Academics.*

OF all the ſects the ſchool of Socrates brought forth, the moſt famous was the ACADEMIC, ſo called from the place where they aſſembled, which was the houſe of an antient hero of Athens, named ACADEMUS, ſituated in the ſuburbs of that city, where Plato taught. We have ſeen in the hiſtory of Cimon the Athenian general, who ſought to diſtinguiſh himſelf no leſs by his love for learning and learned men than his military exploits, that he adorned the Academy with fountains and walks of trees for the convenience of the philoſophers who aſſembled there. From that time all places, where men of letters aſſemble, have been called *Academies*.

Three

Three *Academies*, or ſects of Academics, are reckoned. Plato was the founder of the *antient*, or firſt. Arceſilaus, one of his ſucceſſors, made ſome alterations in his philoſophy, and by that reformation founded what is called the *middle*, or ſecond academy. The *new*, or third academy, is attributed to Carneades. We ſhall ſoon ſee wherein their difference conſiſted.

## SECT. I.

### *Of the antient Academy.*

THOSE who made it flouriſh in ſucceſſion to one another were Plato, Speuſippus, Xenocrates, Polemon, and Crantor.

### PLATO.

A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 428. PLATO was born in the firſt year of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. He was at firſt called Ariſtocles from the name of his grandfather; but his maſter of the Paleſtra called him Plato from his large and broad ſhoulders, which name he retained. Whilſt he was an infant in arms, ſleeping one day under a myrtle, a ſwarm of bees ſettled upon his lips, which was taken for an omen, that the child would prove very eloquent, and diſtinguiſh himſelf highly by the ſweetneſs of his ſtile. This came to paſs, whatever we may think of the augury; from whence the ſurname of *Apis Attica*, Athenian bee, was given him.

He ſtudied grammar, muſic, and painting, under the moſt able maſters. He applied himſelf alſo to poetry, and even compoſed tragedies, which he burnt at the age of twenty, after having heard Socrates. He attached himſelf ſolely to that philoſopher; and, as he was exceedingly inclined to virtue by nature, made ſuch improvements from the leſſons of his maſter, that at twenty-five he gave extraordinary proofs of his wiſdom.

The

The fate of Athens was at that time very deplorable. Lyſander the Lacædemonian general had eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants there. Plato's merit, which was already well known, induced them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to engage him in their party, and to oblige him to ſhare in the affairs of the government. To this he conſented at firſt, with the hope either of oppoſing, or at leaſt of ſoftening, the tyranny: but he preſently perceived, that the evil had no remedy, and, that to ſhare in the public affairs, it was neceſſary either to render himſelf an accomplice of their crimes, or the victim of their appetites. He therefore waited a more favourable occaſion. A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

That time ſeemed ſoon after to be arrived. The tyrants were expelled, and the form of the government intirely changed. But the affairs of the public were in no better a condition, and the ſtate received new wounds every day. Socrates himſelf was ſacrificed to the malice of his enemies. Plato retired to the houſe of Euclid at Megara, from whence he went to Cyrene, to cultivate the mathematics under Theodorus, the greateſt mathematician of his time. He afterwards viſited Egypt, and converſed a great while with the Egyptian prieſts, who taught him great part of their traditions. It is even believed, that they made him acquainted with the books of Moſes and the prophets. Not content with all theſe acquiſitions, he went to that part of Italy called Græcia Magna, to hear the three moſt famous Pythagoreans of thoſe times, Philolaus, Archytas of Tarentum, and Eurytus. From thence he went into Sicily, to ſee the wonders of that iſland, and eſpecially the volcano of mount Ætna. This voyage, which was a mere effect of his curioſity, laid the firſt foundations of the liberty of Syracuſe, as I have explained at large in the hiſtory of Dionyſius, the father and ſon, and in that of Dion. He intended to have gone to Perſia, A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

ſia, in order to have conſulted the Magi: but was prevented by the wars which at that time troubled Aſia.

At his return to his country after all his travels, in which he had acquired an infinitude of curious knowledge, he ſettled his abode in the quarter of the ſuburb of Athens, called the Academy, (of which we have ſpoken above) where he gave his leſſons, and formed ſo many illuſtrious diſciples.

Plato compoſed a ſyſtem of doctrine from the opinions of three philoſophers. He followed Heraclitus in natural and ſenſible things: that is to ſay, he believed, with Heraclitus, that there was but one world; that all things were produced by their contraries; that motion, which he calls war, occaſions the production of beings, and reſt their diſſolution.

He followed Pythagoras in intellectual truths, or what we call the metaphyſics: that is to ſay, he taught, as that philoſopher did, that there is but one God, the author of all things; that the ſoul is immortal; that men have only to take pains to purge themſelves of their paſſions and vices, in order to be united to God; that after this life there is a reward for the good, and a puniſhment for the wicked; that between God and man there are various orders of ſpirits, which are the miniſters of the ſupreme Being. He had alſo taken the Metempſychoſis from Pythagoras, but given it a conſtruction of his own.

And finally, he imitated Socrates in reſpect to morality and politics; that is to ſay, he reduced every thing to the manners, and laboured only to incline all men to diſcharge the duties of the ſtate of life in which the Divine Providence has placed him.

He alſo very much improved logic, or, which is the ſame thing, the art of reaſoning with order and exactneſs.

All

All the works of Plato, except his letters, of which only twelve are come down to us, are in the form of dialogues. He purpoſely choſe that manner of writing, as more agreeable, familiar, comprehenſive, and better adapted to inſtruct and perſuade, than any other. By the help of it he ſucceeded wonderfully in placing truths in their full light. He gives to each of his ſpeakers his proper character; and by an admirable * chain of reaſons, which neceſſarily induce each other, he leads them on to admit, or rather to ſay themſelves, all he would prove to them.

As to the ſtile, it is impoſſible to imagine any thing greater, more noble, or more majeſtic; that, ſays † Quintilian, he ſeems not to ſpeak the language of men, but of the gods. The flow and numbers of his elocution form an harmony ſcarce inferior to that of Homer's poetry; and the Atticiſm, which, amongſt the Greeks, was in point of ſtile whatever was fineſt, moſt delicate, and moſt perfect in every kind, prevails in it univerſally, and ſhews itſelf every-where in a manner intirely peculiar. But neither the beauty of ſtile, the elegance and happineſs of expreſſions, nor the harmony of numbers, conſtitute the value of Plato's writings. What is moſt to be admired in them is the ſolidity and greatneſs of the ſentiments, maxims, and principles diffuſed throughout them, whether for the conduct of life, policy, government, or religion. I ſhall cite ſome paſſages from them in the ſequel.

Plato died in the firſt year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, which was the thirteenth of the reign of Philip of Macedon, aged eighty-one, and upon the ſame day he was born. A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348.

* In dialogis Socraticorum, maximeque Platonis, adeo ſcitæ ſunt interrogationes, ut, cùm pleriſque bene reſpondeatur, res tandem ad id quod volunt efficere, perveniat. *Quintil.* l. 5. c. 7.

† Ut mihi, non hominis ingenio, ſed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo inſtinctus. *Quintil.* l. 10. c. 1.

He

He had many disciples, of whom the most distinguished were Speusippus his nephew by the mother's side, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, and the celebrated Aristotle. Theophrastus is also said to have been of the number of his hearers, and Demosthenes to have always considered him as his master; of which his stile is a good proof. Dion, the brother-in-law of Dionysius the tyrant, also did him great honour by his excellent character, his inviolable attachment to his person, his extraordinary taste for philosophy, the rare qualities of his head and heart, and his great and heroic actions for re-establishing the liberty of his country.

Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. 1. n. 17—18. After the death of Plato, his disciples divided themselves into two sects. The first continued to teach in the Academy, the name of which they retained. The others settled their school in the Lycæum, a place in Athens adorned with porticoes and gardens. They were called Peripatetics, and had Aristotle for their founder. These two sects differed only in name, and agreed as to opinions. They had both renounced the custom and maxim of Socrates, which was to affirm nothing, and to explain themselves in disputes only dubiously and with reserve. I shall speak of the Peripatetics in the sequel, when I have briefly related the history of the philosophers who fixed their residence in the Academy.

## SPEUSIPPUS.

Laert. I have already said that he was Plato's nephew. His conduct was so very irregular in his youth, that his parents turned him out of their house. That of his uncle became his asylum. Plato behaved to him as if he had never heard of his debauched life. His friends were shocked and amazed at his placing his kindness so ill, and at so indolent a conduct, and blamed him for taking no pains to correct his nephew, and reform his dissolute manners. He replied calmly, that he laboured more effectually

ally to that purpoſe than they imagined, in ſhewing him, by his own manner of living, the infinite difference between virtue and vice, and between decency and depravity. And indeed that method ſucceeded ſo well, that it inſpired Speuſippus with a very great reſpect for him, and a violent deſire of imitating him, and of devoting himſelf to philoſophy, in the ſtudy of which he afterwards made very great proficiency. It requires no common addreſs to manage the ſpirit of a vicious young man, and to bring him over to a ſenſe of his duty. The boiling heat of youth ſeldom gives way to violence, which often ſerves only to inflame and precipitate it into deſpair.

Plato had cultivated a particular intimacy between Speuſippus and Dion, with a view of ſoftening the auſtere temper of the latter, by the gaiety and inſinuating manners of his nephew.

He ſucceeded his uncle in the ſchool after his death, but held it only eight years; after which his infirmities obliged him to reſign it to Xenocrates. Speuſippus did not depart from Plato's doctrine, but was not ſtudious to imitate him in his practice. He was choleric, loved pleaſure, and ſeemed ſelf-intereſted; for he exacted a præmium from his diſciples, contrary to the cuſtom and principles of Plato.

## XENOCRATES.

Xenocrates was of Chalcedon, and became very early Plato's diſciple.

He ſtudied under that great maſter at the ſame time as Ariſtotle, but not with the ſame talents. * He had occaſion for a ſpur, and the other for a bridle; which are Plato's own words of them, who added, that, in putting them together, he coupled an horſe with an aſs. He is praiſed for not being

* *Iſocrates ſaid the ſame thing of Theopompus and Euphorus.*

diſcouraged

diſcouraged by the ſlowneſs of his parts, which made ſtudy much more laborious to him than to others. Plutarch uſes the example of him, and that of Cleanthes, to encourage ſuch as perceive they have leſs penetration and vivacity than others, and exhorts them to imitate thoſe two great philoſophers, and, like them, to ſet themſelves above the ridicule of their companions. If Xenocrates, from the heavineſs of his genius, was inferior to Ariſtotle, he far ſurpaſſed him in practical philoſophy and purity of manners.

Plut. de audit. p. 47.

He was naturally melancholy, and had ſomething ſtiff and auſtere in his temper; for which reaſon Plato often adviſed him *to ſacrifice to the Graces*, ſignifying clearly enough by thoſe words, that it was neceſſary for him to ſoften the ſeverity of his temper. He ſometimes reproved him for that fault with more force and leſs reſerve, apprehending that his pupil's want of politeneſs and good-nature would become an obſtacle to all the good effects of his inſtruction and example. Xenocrates was not inſenſible to thoſe reproaches: but they never diminiſhed the profound reſpect he always had for his maſter. And when endeavours were uſed to make him angry with Plato, and he was provoked to defend himſelf with ſome vivacity, he ſtopped the mouths of his indiſcreet friends with ſaying, *He uſes me ſo for my good.* He took Plato's place in the ſecond year of the CXth Olympiad.

Diog. Laert.

Ælian. l. 14. c. 9.

A. M. 3666.

Diogenes Laertius ſays, that he loved neither pleaſure, riches, nor praiſe. He ſhewed on many occaſions a generous and noble diſintereſtedneſs. The court of Macedonia had the reputation of retaining a great number of penſioners and ſpies in all the neighbouring republics, and to corrupt with bribes all perſons ſent to negotiate with them. Xenocrates was deputed with ſome other Athenians to Philip. That prince, who perfectly underſtood

Diog. Laert.

ſtood the art of inſinuating into people's favour, applied himſelf in a particular manner to Xenocrates, whoſe merit and reputation he was apprized of. When he found him inacceſſible to preſents and intereſt, he endeavoured to mortify him by an affected contempt and ill treatment, not admitting him to his conferences with the other ambaſſadors from the commonwealth of Athens, whom he had corrupted by his careſſes, feaſts, and liberalities. Our philoſopher, firm and unalterable in his principles, retained all his ſtiffneſs and integrity, and, though wholly excluded, continued perfectly eaſy, and never appeared either at audiences or feaſts as his colleagues did. At their return to Athens, his colleagues endeavoured in concert to diſcredit him with the people, and complained, that he had been of no manner of uſe to them in this embaſſy; in conſequence of which he was very near having a fine laid on him. Xenocrates, forced by the injuſtice of his accuſers to break ſilence, explained all that had paſſed in Philip's court, made the people ſenſible of what importance it was to have a ſtrict eye upon the conduct of deputies who had ſold themſelves to the enemy of the commonwealth, covered his colleagues with ſhame and confuſion, and acquired immortal glory.

His diſintereſtedneſs was alſo put to the proof by Alexander the Great. The ambaſſadors of that prince, who without doubt came to Athens upon account of ſome negociation, (neither the time nor the affair are ſaid) offered Xenocrates from their maſter fifty talents, that is to ſay, fifty thouſand crowns. Xenocrates invited them to ſupper. The entertainment was ſimple, frugal, plain, and truly philoſophical. * The next day the deputies aſked him, into whoſe hands they ſhould pay the money

Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 91. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 3.

* Cùm poſtridie rogarent eum, cui numerari juberet: *Quid! Vos heſternâ*, inquit, *cœnulâ non intellexiſtis, me pecuniæ non egere?* Quos cùm triſtiores vidiſſet, triginta minas accepit, ne aſperhari regis liberalitatem videretur. *Cic.*

they had orders to give him. *How!* ſaid he to them, *did not my feaſt yeſterday inform you, that I have no occaſion for money?* He added that Alexander was more in want of it than him, becauſe he had more mouths to feed. Seeing that his anſwer made them ſad, he accepted of thirty minæ (about ſeventy-five pounds) that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the king's liberality out of pride. * Thus, ſays an hiſtorian, in concluding his account of this fact, the king would have purchaſed the friendſhip of the philoſopher, and the philoſopher would not ſell it to the king.

His diſintereſtedneſs muſt have reduced him to great poverty, as he could not diſcharge a certain tax, which ſtrangers were obliged to pay yearly into the public treaſury of Athens. Plutarch tells us, that one day, as they were hauling him to priſon for not having paid this tribute, the orator Lycurgus diſcharged the ſum, and took him out of the hands of the farmers of the revenue, who frequently are not too ſenſible to the merit of the learned. Xenocrates, ſome days after meeting the ſon of his deliverer, told him, *I pay your father the favour he did me with intereſt; for all the world praiſes him upon my account.* Diogenes Laertius tells us ſomething very like this of him, which perhaps is the ſame fact diſguiſed under different circumſtances. He ſays that the Athenians ſold him, becauſe he could not pay the capitation laid upon ſtrangers: but that Demetrius Phalereus bought him, and immediately gave him his liberty. It is not very probable, that the Athenians ſhould treat a philoſopher of the reputation of Xenocrates with ſo much cruelty.

Plut. in Flamin. p. 375.

Diog. Laert. in Xenoc.

Athens had a very high idea of his probity. One day when he appeared before the judges to give evidence in ſome affair, on his going towards the altar, in order to ſwear that what he had affirmed was true, all the judges roſe up, and would not

Cic. Orat. pro Corn. Balb n. 14. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 9.

* Ita rex philoſophi amicitiam emere voluit: philoſophus regi ſuam vendere noluit. *Val. Max.*

ſuffer

suffer him to do so, declaring that his word was as satisfactory to them as an oath.

Happening in company, where abundance of scandal was talked, he did not share in it, and continued mute. Upon being asked by somebody the reason of his profound silence, he replied, *It is because I have often repented speaking, but never holding my tongue.*

He had a very fine maxim upon the education of youth, which it were to be wished parents would cause to be observed in their houses. * He was, from their earliest infancy, for having wise and virtuous discourses often repeated in their presence; but without affectation; in order that they might seize in a manner on their ears, as on a place hitherto unoccupied, through which virtue and vice might equally penetrate to the heart; and that those wise and virtuous discourses, like faithful centinels, should keep the entrance firmly closed against all words that might corrupt the purity of manners in the least, till by long habit youth were become strong, and their † ears safe against the invenomed breath of bad conversation. Plut de audit: p. 38.

According to Xenocrates, there are no true philosophers but those who do that voluntarily and of their own accord, which others do only through fear of punishment and the laws. Plut. de virt. moral. p. 446.

He composed several works, amongst the rest one upon the method of reigning well; at least Alexander asked it of him. Diog. Laert.

He lost little time in visits, was very fond of the retirement of his study, and meditated much

* Τῶν λόγων τοὺς φαύλους φυλάττεσθαι παραινῶν, πρὶν ἑτέρους χρηστοὺς, ὥσπερ φύλακας, ἐντραφέντας ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας, τῷ ἔθει τὴν μάλιστα κινουμένην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπειθομένην χώραν κατασχεῖν.

† *He alludes to the Athletæ, who in boxing used to cover their heads and ears with a kind of leathern cap, to deaden the violence of the blows. He says that this precaution is much more necessary to youth. For all the risk the Athletæ ran was of having their ears hurt; whereas young persons hazard their innocence, and even the loss of themselves.*

He ſeldom was ſeen in the ſtreets: but, when he appeared there, the debauched youth uſed to fly to avoid meeting him.

Diog. Laert. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 90.

A young Athenian, more vicious than the reſt, and abſolutely infamous for his irregularities in which he gloried, was not ſo much awed by him. His name was Polemon. On leaving a party of debauch, paſſing by the ſchool of Xenocrates, and finding the door open, he went in, full of wine, ſweet with eſſence, and with a wreath on his head. In this condition he took his ſeat amongſt the auditors, leſs to hear than out of inſolence. The whole aſſembly were ſtrangely ſurpriſed and offended. Xenocrates, without the leaſt emotion or change of countenance, only varied the diſcourſe, and went on with ſpeaking upon temperance and ſobriety, all the advantages of which he ſet in full light, by oppoſing to thoſe virtues the ſhame and turpitude of the contrary vices. The young libertine, who liſtened with attention, opened his eyes to the deformity of his condition, and was aſhamed of himſelf. * The wreath falls from his head; with downcaſt eyes he hides himſelf in his cloak, and, inſtead of that gay inſolence which he had ſhewn on entering the ſchool, he appears ſerious and thoughtful. An entire change of conduct enſued; and, abſolutely cured of his bad paſſions by a ſingle diſcourſe, from an infamous debauchee, he became an excellent philoſopher, and made an happy amends for the vices of his youth by a wiſe and regular courſe of life, from which he never departed.

A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316.

Xenocrates died at the age of eighty-two, the firſt year of the CXVIth Olympiad.

* ——————— Faciaſne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon? Ponas inſignia morbi,
Faſciolas, cubital, focalia? potus ut ille
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpſiſſe coronas,
Poſtquam eſt impranſi correptus voce magiſtri.
*Hor. Sat. 3. l. 3.*

## POLEMON. CRATES. CRANTOR.

I join theſe three philoſophers under the ſame title, becauſe little is known of their lives.

POLEMON worthily ſucceeded his maſter Xenocrates, and never departed from his opinions, nor the example of wiſdom and ſobriety, which he had ſet him. He renounced wine in ſuch a manner at the age of thirty, which was the time his celebrated change of conduct began, that during the reſt of his life he never drank any thing but water. Athen. l. 2. c. 44.

CRATES, who was his ſucceſſor, is little known, and muſt be diſtinguiſhed from a Cynic philoſopher of the ſame name, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

* CRANTOR was more famous. He was of Soli in Cilicia. He quitted his native country, and came to Athens, where he was the diſciple of Xenocrates at the ſame time with Polemon. * He paſſes for one of the great pillars of the Platonic ſect. What Horace ſays of him, in praiſing Homer, argues the great reputation of this philoſopher, and how much his principles of morality were in eſteem:

Qui quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chryſippo & Crantore dicit.
*Hor. Ep. 2. l. 1.*

*Who tells what's great, what mean, what fit, what not,*
*Better than* Crantor *or Chryſippus taught.*

The ſame cannot be ſaid of his principles upon the nature of the ſoul, as we ſhall ſee in its place.

He wrote a book upon *Conſolation*, which is loſt: it was addreſſed to Hippocles, whom an early death had deprived of all his children. It is men- Plut. de Conſol. p. 104.

* Crantor ille qui in noſtra academia vel in primis fuit nobilis. Cic. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l.* 3. *n.* 12.

tioned * as a book of gold, of which every word deſerved to be got by heart. Cicero had made great uſe of it in a tract that bore the ſame title. Arceſilaus the author of the middle Academy was his diſciple.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the Middle Academy.*

IT is ſo called, becauſe it ſubſiſted between the ancient Academy inſtituted by Plato, and the new that ſoon ſucceeded it, of which Carneades was the author.

### ARCESILAUS.

Diog. Laert. in Arceſil.

ARCESILAUS was born at Pitane in Æolia. He went to Athens and became the diſciple of the greateſt philoſophers, of which number were Polemon, Theophraſtus, Crantor, Diodorus, and Pyrrho. It was evidently of the laſt that he learnt to doubt every thing. He was only an Academic by name, which he retained out of reſpect to Crantor, upon being whoſe diſciple he valued himſelf.

Num. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. c. 5.

Diog. Laert.

He ſucceeded Crates, or, according to others, Polemon, as profeſſor in the Platonic ſchool, in which he became an innovator. For he founded a ſect, which was called the ſecond or middle Academy, to diſtinguiſh it from that of Plato. He was very oppoſite to the Dogmatiſts, that is to ſay, the philoſophers who affirmed and decided. He ſeemed to doubt all things, maintained both ſides of a queſtion, and determined nothing. He had a great number of diſciples. To attack all the ſciences, and to reject not only the evidence of the ſenſes, but

* Legimus omnes Crantoris, veteris Academici, de luctu: eſt enim non magnus, verùm aureolus, &, ut Tuberoni Panætius præcipit, ad verbum ediſcendus libellus. *Acad. Quæſt. l.* 4. *n.* 135.

of

of reaſon, was certainly the boldeſt undertaking that could be formed in the republic of letters. To hope any ſucceſs in it required all the merit of Arceſilaus. * He was by nature of an happy, ready, warm genius: his perſon was very graceful, and his manner of ſpeaking happy and delightful. The beauty of his aſpect admirably ſeconded the charms of his utterance. Accordingly Lucullus †, who learnedly and ſolidly refutes the opinion of the Academics, ſays that nobody would have followed the opinion of Arceſilaus, if the eloquence and addreſs of the teacher had not covered and made the manifeſt abſurdity of his doctrine diſappear.

Things much for his honour are related of his liberality. ‡ He delighted in doing good, and was not willing that it ſhould be known. § Viſiting a ‖ friend who was ſick, and wanted neceſſaries, but was aſhamed to own it, he dexterouſly ſlid a purſe full of money under his pillow, to ſpare his ſhame and delicacy, and that he might ſeem rather to have found than accepted it.

Authors do not give ſo favourable a teſtimony of the purity of his manners, and accuſe him of the moſt infamous vices. And that ought not to appear ſtrange in a philoſopher, who, doubting every thing, doubted in conſequence the exiſtence of virtue and vice, and could not really admit any rule in reſpect to the duties of civil life. Diog. Laert.

* Arceſilas floruit, tum acumine ingenii, tum admirabili quodam lepore dicendi. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 16.

† Quis iſta, tam aperte perſpicuéque & perverſa & falſa, ſecutus eſſet, niſi tanta in Arceſila——& copia rerum, & dicendi vis fuiſſet? *Ibid.* n. 60.

‡ Εὐεργετῆσαι πρόχειρος ἦν, καὶ λαθεῖν τὴν χάριν ἀτυφότατος. *Diog. Laert.*

§ Arceſilaus, ut aiunt, amico pauperi, & paupertatem ſuam diſſimulanti, ægro autem, & ne hoc quidem confitenti deeſſe ſibi in ſumptum ad neceſſarios uſus, cùm clam ſuccurrendum judicaſſet, pulvinó ejus ignorantis ſaculum ſubjecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod deſiderabat, inveniret potiùs quàm acciperet. *Senec. de Benef.* l. 2.

‖ *Seneca calls him Caſibius: Plutarch gives him another name.* De diſcrim. amic. & adulat. p. 63.

Diog. Laert. He did not care to have any part in the public affairs. However, having been choſen to go to Demetrias, in order to negotiate for his country with Antigonus, he accepted the deputation, but returned without ſucceſs.

In the torments of the * gout, he affected the patience and inſenſibility of a Stoic. *Nothing from thoſe has reached this*, ſaid he, pointing to his feet and touching his † breaſt, to Carneades the Epicurean, who was much concerned to ſee him ſuffer in that manner. He was for making the other believe, that his ſoul was inacceſſible to pain. Lofty language, with nothing real in it but pride!

Idem. Arceſilaus flouriſhed about the CXXth Olympiad, that is to ſay, about the year of the world 3704. He died of exceſſive drinking, which had made him delirious, at the age of 75.

Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 16 His ſucceſſors were Lacydes, Evander, and Egeſimus, which laſt was the maſter of Carneades.

## SECT. III.

### *Of the New Academy.*

### CARNEADES.

CARNEADES of Cyrene inſtituted the third or new Academy, which, properly ſpeaking, did not differ from the ſecond. For, except ſome few palliatives, Carneades was as warm and zealous an advocate for uncertainty as Arceſilaus. ‡ The difference between them, and the innovation

* Is cùm arderet & podagræ doloribus, viſitaſſetque hominem Carneades Epicuri perfamiliaris, & triſtis exiret: Mane, quæſo, inquit, Carneade noſter. Nihil illinc huc pervenit, oſtendens pedes & pectus. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 94.

† *The antients believed the breaſt the ſeat of the ſoul and of courage.*

‡ Non ſumus ii quibus nihil verum eſſe videatur, ſed ii qui omnibus veris falſa quædam adjuncta eſſe dicamus, tanta ſimilitudine, ut in iis nulla inſit certa judicandi & aſſentiendi nota. Ex quo exiſtit

tion aſcribed to him of whom we now ſpeak, conſiſt in his not denying with Arceſilaus, that there are truths; but he maintained that they were compounded with ſo many obſcurities, or rather falſhoods, that it was not in our power to diſcern with certainty the true from the falſe. He went therefore ſo far as to admit that there were probable things, and agreed that probability might determine us to act, provided we did not pronounce abſolutely upon any thing. Thus he ſeems to have retained at bottom the whole doctrine of Arceſilaus, but, out of policy, and to deprive his opponents of the more ſpecious pretexts for declaiming againſt and ridiculing him, he granted degrees of probability, which ought to determine the wiſe man to chuſe this or that in the conduct of civil life. He ſaw plainly, that without theſe conceſſions he ſhould never be able to anſwer the ſtrongeſt objections to his principle, nor to prove that it did not reduce man to inaction.

Carneades was the declared antagoniſt of the Stoics, and applied himſelf with extreme ardour to refute the works of Chryſippus, who had been for ſome time the ſupport of the Porch. He ſo ardently deſired to overcome him, that in preparing for the diſpute he took hellebore, in order to have his mind the more free, and to give the fire of his imagination the greater force againſt him. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.

A maxim of morality, very admirable in a Pagan, is aſcribed to him. "If a perſon knew, ſays "he, that an enemy, or another whoſe death would "be for his advantage, would come to ſit down "upon the graſs where the aſpic lurked, it would "be acting diſhoneſtly not to give him notice of "it, even though his ſilence might paſs with im- Cic. de finib. l. 2. n. 59.

iſlit & illud, multa eſſe probabilia; quæ quanquam non percipe-rentur, tamen, quia viſum haberent quendam inſignem & illuſtrem, his ſapientis vita regeretur. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 12.

"punity,

" punity, nobody being capable of making a crime " of it."

But the conduct of theſe Pagans was always inconſiſtent with itſelf in ſome part or other. This grave philoſopher was not aſhamed of keeping a concubine in the houſe with him.

Pag. 58. Plutarch has preſerved a pretty reflection of Carneades, in his treatiſe upon the difference between a friend and a flatterer. He had cited the example of one who, in diſputing the prize in the horſe-race with Alexander, had ſuffered himſelf to be beaten deſignedly, for which that prince was very angry with him: he adds, " That the manage is the only " thing, in which young princes have nothing to " apprehend from flattery. Their other maſters " frequently enough aſcribe good qualities to them, " which they have not. But an horſe, without re- " gard to rich or poor, to ſubject or ſovereign, " throws all the aukward riders that back him."

The embaſſy of Carneades to Rome is much celebrated: I have ſpoken of it elſewhere.

To conclude what relates to Carneades, I ſhall obſerve that he had not entirely neglected the Phyſics, but that he had made the Ethics his principal ſtudy. He was extremely laborious, and ſo avaricious of his time, that he took no care either to pare his nails or cut his hair. Solely devoted to meditation, he not only avoided feaſts, but even forgot to eat at his own table, ſo that his ſervant, who was alſo his concubine, was obliged to put meat into his hand, and almoſt into his mouth.

Diog. Laert. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7.

He was extremely afraid of dying. However, upon being informed that his antagoniſt Antipater, the Stoic philoſopher, had poiſoned himſelf, he aſſumed a ſhort ſally of courage againſt death, and cried out: *Then give me alſo—What?* aſked ſomebody. *Mulled wine*, replied he, having bethought himſelf better of it. Diogenes Laertius ridicules this puſillanimity, and reproaches him with having

Diog. Laert.

choſen

choſen rather to languiſh long of the phthiſic, than to give himſelf death: for That the Pagans thought glorious, though the wiſeſt amongſt them were of a different opinion, *and believed, that nature was the tacit law of God.* He died in the fourth year of the CLXIId Olympiad, aged fourſcore and five years. A. M. 3871. Ant. J. C. 133.

## CLITOMACHUS.

CLITOMACHUS, the diſciple of Carneades, was his ſucceſſor. He was a Carthaginian, and called Aſdrubal in the Punic tongue. He compoſed ſeveral books, which were highly eſteemed, and of which one was intitled *Conſolation.* He addreſſed it to his countrymen after the taking and deſtruction of Carthage, to conſole them under the ſtate of Captivity into which they were fallen. Plut. de fort. Alex. p. 328. Cic. l. 3. Tuſcul. Quæſt. n. 54.

## PHILO. ANTIOCHUS.

PHILO ſucceeded his maſter Clitomachus. He taught both philoſophy and rhetoric, but at different times. Cicero frequented his ſchool, and improved from his double lectures. Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 9.

He was alſo the hearer of Antiochus, Philo's diſciple and ſucceſſor. Antiochus was of Aſcalon, and is the laſt of the Academic philoſophers mentioned in hiſtory. Cicero in his voyage to Athens was charmed with his calm, flowing, graceful manner of ſpeaking: but he did not approve the change he had introduced in the method of Carneades. For Antiochus, after having long and ſtrenuouſly maintained the opinions of the new Academy, which rejected entirely the evidence of the ſenſes, and even of reaſon, and taught that there was nothing certain, had on a ſudden embraced thoſe of the old Academy; whether he had been undeceived by the conviction of reaſon and the report of his ſenſes; or, as ſome believed, that jealouſy and envy for the diſciples of Clitomachus and Philo had induced him to that alteration. Plut. in Cic. p. 862.

Lucullus,

Plut. in Lucull. p. 519, 520.

Lucullus, the famous Roman, as well known for his wonderful taſte for the ſciences, as his great ability in war, had declared openly for the ſect of the Academics, not of the new Academy, though then very flouriſhing from the writings of Carneades; which Philo explained, but for that of the old Academy, of which the ſchool was held at that time by Antiochus. He had cultivated the friendſhip of that philoſopher with extreme ardour: he gave him an apartment in his own houſe, and made uſe of his aſſiſtance in oppoſing the diſciples of Philo, of whom Cicero was the chief.

## ARTICLE V.

### *Of the Peripatetics.*

### ARISTOTLE.

I Have already obſerved, that, after Plato's death, his diſciples divided themſelves into two ſects; of which the one continued in the ſchool where Plato had taught, and the other removed to the Lycæum, an agreeable place in the ſuburbs of Athens. Ariſtotle was the chief and founder of the latter.

Diog. Laert. A. M. 3620.

He was a native of Stagira a city of Macedonia, and was born in the firſt year of the XCIXth Olympiad, forty years after Plato. His father Nicomachus was a phyſician, and flouriſhed in the reign of Amyntas king of Macedonia, Philip's father.

At the age of ſeventeen he went to Athens, and entered himſelf in the ſchool of Plato, under whom he ſtudied twenty years. He was its greateſt honour, and Plato uſed to call him the ſoul of his ſchool. His paſſion for ſtudy was ſo great, that, in order to prevent ſleep from engroſſing him, he placed a baſon of braſs by his bed-ſide, and, when he lay down, extended one of his hands out of bed with an iron ball in it, that the noiſe, made by the falling

falling of the ball into the baſon, when he fell aſleep, might immediately wake him.

After Plato's death, which happened in the firſt year of the CVIIIth Olympiad, he retired to the A. M. houſe of Hermias, tyrant of Atarnea in Myſia, his 3656. fellow-pupil, who received him with joy, and loaded him with honours. Hermias having been condemned and put to death by the king of Perſia, Ariſtotle married his ſiſter Pithais, who was left without a fortune or protector.

It was at this time Philip choſe him, to take care of the education of his ſon Alexander, who might then be about fourteen or fifteen years old. He had long before deſigned him that important Aul. Gell. and glorious employment. As ſoon as his ſon came l. 9. c. 3. into the world, he informed him of his birth by a letter, which does Philip no leſs honour than Ariſtotle, and which I am not afraid to repeat in this place. *You have this*, ſays he, *to inform you, that I have a ſon. I thank the Gods, not ſo much for having given him to me, as for having given him to me in the time of Ariſtotle. It is with reaſon I aſſure myſelf, that you will make him a ſucceſſor worthy of us, and a king worthy of Macedonia.* Quintilian * ſays expreſsly, that Ariſtotle taught Alexander the firſt rudiments of grammar. But, as that opinion admits of ſome difficulty, I do not entirely give into it. When the time for taking upon him the education of that prince arrived, Ariſtotle repaired to Macedonia. We have ſeen elſewhere the high value which Philip and Alexander expreſſed for his extraordinary merit.

After a reſidence of ſome years in that court, he obtained permiſſion to retire. Calliſthenes, who

* An Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio ſuo prima literarum elementa tradi ab Ariſtotele ſummo ejus ætatis Philoſopho voluiſſet, aut ille ſucepiſſet hoc officium, ſi non ſtudiorum initia à perfectiſſimo quoque tractari, pertinere ad ſummam credidiſſet? *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 1.

had

had accompanied him thither, took his place, and was appointed to follow Alexander into the field. * Ariſtotle, in whom profound judgment and a great knowledge of the world were united, upon the point of ſetting ſail for Athens, adviſed Calliſthenes not to forget one maxim of Xenophanes, which he judged abſolutely neceſſary to perſons who live in courts: "Speak ſeldom to the prince, or "ſpeak ſo as to pleaſe him: that your ſilence may "either make you more ſecure, or your diſcourſe "more agreeable to him." Calliſthenes, who was naturally moroſe and auſtere, made but ill uſe of this counſel, which indeed at bottom ſavours more of the courtier than the philoſopher.

Ariſtotle then, not having thought proper to follow his pupil to the war, to which his attachment to ſtudy made him very averſe, after Alexander's departure returned to Athens. He was received there with all the marks of diſtinction due to a philoſopher that excelled in ſo many reſpects. Xenocrates at that time preſided in Plato's ſchool in the Academy: Ariſtotle opened his in the Lyceum. The concourſe of his hearers was extraordinary. In the morning his leſſons were upon philoſophy, and in the afternoon upon rhetoric: he uſually gave them walking, which occaſioned his diſciples to be called Peripatetics.

Cic. l. 3. de Orat. n. 141. Quintil. l. 3. c. 1.

He taught only philoſophy at firſt: but the great reputation of Iſocrates, then ninety years old, who had applied himſelf ſolely to rhetoric, and with incredible ſucceſs, excited his jealouſy, and induced him alſo to teach it. It is perhaps to this noble emulation, allowable between the learned, when confined to imitating, or even ſurpaſſing what others have done well, that we owe Ariſtotle's Rhetoric,

* Ariſtoteles, Calliſthenem auditorem ſuum ad Alexandrum dimittens, monuit ut cum eo aut rariſſimè, aut quàm jucundiſſimè loqueretur: quo ſcilicet apud regias aures vel ſilentio tutior, vel ſermone eſſet acceptior. *Val. Max.* l. 7. c. 2.

the

the moſt complete and moſt eſteemed work the ancients have left us upon that ſubject; unleſs we chuſe rather to believe it compoſed for Alexander.

So ſhining a merit as Ariſtotle's did not fail to excite envy, which ſeldom ſpares great men. As long as Alexander lived, that conqueror's name ſuſpended the effects of it, and awed the malignity of his enemies. But he was no ſooner dead, than they roſe up in concert againſt him, and ſwore his deſtruction. Eurymedon, prieſt of Ceres, lent them his aſſiſtance, and ſerved their hatred with a zeal the more to be feared, as it was covered with the maſk of religion. He cited Ariſtotle before the judges, and accuſed him of impiety, pretending that he taught doctrines contrary to the worſhip of the gods eſtabliſhed at Athens. To prove this, he referred to Ariſtotle's hymn in honour of Hermias, and the inſcription engraved upon his ſtatue in the temple of Delphos. This inſcription is ſtill extant in Athenæus and Diogenes Laertius. It conſiſts of four verſes, which have no relation to ſacred matters, and only to the king of Perſia's perfidy to the unfortunate friend of Ariſtotle: neither is the hymn more criminal. Ariſtotle might perhaps have offended Eurymedon the prieſt of Ceres perſonally by ſome ſtroke of ridicule, a much more unpardonable crime than only attacking the gods. However it were, not believing it ſafe to wait the event of a trial, he quitted Athens, after having taught there thirteen years. He retired to Chalcis in the iſland of Eubœa, and pleaded his cauſe from thence in writing. Athenæus repeats ſome expreſſions in this apology, but does not warrant them poſitively to be Ariſtotle's. Somebody aſking him the cauſe of his retiring, he anſwered, *that it was to prevent the Athenians from committing a ſecond murder upon philoſophy*, alluding to the death of Socrates.

Athen. l. 15. p. 696, 697. Ælian. l. 3. c. 36.

It is pretended that he died of grief, becauſe he could not diſcover the cauſe of the ebbing and flowing

flowing of the Euripus, and that he even threw himſelf headlong into that ſea, ſaying, *Let the Euripus ſwallow me, ſince I can't comprehend it.* There were a multitude of other things in nature beyond his comprehenſion, and he was too wiſe to be mortified on that account. Others affirm with more probability, that he died of the cholic in the 63d year of his age, two years after Alexander's death. He was extremely honoured in Stagira the place of his nativity. It had been demoliſhed by Philip king of Macedonia: but Alexander cauſed it to be rebuilt at the requeſt of Ariſtotle. The inhabitants in gratitude for that benefit inſtituted a feſtival in honour of this philoſopher, and when he died at Chalcis in Eubœa, tranſported his bones to their city, erected an altar upon his monument, gave the place the name of Ariſtotle, and afterwards held their aſſemblies in it. He left a ſon called Nicomachus, and a daughter who was married to a grandſon of Demaratus king of Sparta.

Laert. A. M. 3683.

Ammon. in vit. Ariſtot.

Vol. X. I have related elſewhere the fate of his works, during how many years they remained buried and unknown, and in what manner they were at length brought to light and made public.

L. 10. c. 1. Quintilian ſays, that he does not know which to admire moſt in Ariſtotle, his vaſt and profound erudition, the prodigious multitude of the writings which he left behind him, the beauty of his ſtile, or the infinite variety of his works. One would believe, ſays he in another place, that he muſt have employed ſeveral ages in ſtudy, for comprehending within the extent of his knowledge all that regards not only philoſophy and rhetoric, but even plants and animals, whoſe nature and properties he ſtudied with infinite application. Alexander, to ſecond his maſter's ardour in that learned labour, and to ſatisfy his own curioſity, gave orders for making exact inquiries through the whole extent of Greece and Aſia in all that related to birds, fiſh, and animals

Lib. 12. c. ult.

Plin. l. 8. c. 16.

of

of every kind: an expence which amounted to above eight hundred talents, that is to ſay, eight hundred thouſand crowns. Ariſtotle compoſed above fifty volumes upon this ſubject, of which only ten remain. Athen. l. 9. p. 898.

The univerſity of Paris has thought very differently at different times of Ariſtotle's writings. In the council of Sens held at Paris in 1209, all his books were ordered to be burnt, and the reading, writing, or keeping them prohibited. The rigor of this prohibition was afterwards ſomething abated. At length, by a decree of the two cardinals ſent by pope Urban V. to Paris, in the year 1366, to regulate the univerſity, all the books of Ariſtotle were allowed there; and that decree was renewed and confirmed in 1452 by cardinal Etouteville. From that time Ariſtotle's doctrine always prevailed in the univerſity of Paris, till the happy diſcoveries of the laſt age opened the eyes of the learned, and made them embrace a ſyſtem of philoſophy highly different from the antient opinions of the ſchools. But, as Ariſtotle was formerly admired beyond due bounds, he is perhaps deſpiſed at preſent more than he deſerves.

## *Ariſtotle's Succeſſors.*

THEOPHRASTUS was of the iſland of Leſbos. Ariſtotle, before he retired to Chalcis, appointed him his ſucceſſor. Accordingly he filled the place of his maſter with ſo much ſucceſs and reputation, that the number of his hearers amounted to two thouſand. Demetrius Phalereus was one of his diſciples and intimate friends. The beauty and delicacy of his eloquence occaſioned his being called Theophraſtus, which ſignifies *divine ſpeaker*. Laert.

Cicero * relates a circumſtance particular enough of him. He was cheapening ſomething of an herb-woman, and was anſwered by her: *No, Mr. Stranger, you ſhall have it for no leſs.* He was extremely ſurpriſed and even concerned, that, after having paſſed great part of his life at Athens, the language of which he piqued himſelf upon ſpeaking in perfection, he could however ſtill be diſcovered for a ſtranger. But it was his attention itſelf to the purity of the Attic dialect carried too far, that occaſioned his being known for ſuch, as Quintilian obſerves. What a taſte had Athens even down to the meaneſt of the people!

He did not believe, any more than Ariſtotle, that it was poſſible to enjoy any real felicity here without the goods and conveniencies of life: in which, ſays Cicero †, he degraded virtue, and deprived her of her higheſt glory; reducing her to an incapacity of making man happy of herſelf. He aſcribes ſupreme divinity, in one place, to intelligence, in another to heaven in general, and, after that, to the ſtars in particular.

Lib. 1. de nat. deor. n. 35.

He died at the age of eighty-five, exhauſted with labour and ſtudy. He is ſaid to have murmured againſt nature at his death, for granting a long life to ſtags and ravens, who can make no beneficial uſe of it; whilſt ſhe abridged that of man, whom a longer date would enable to attain a perfect knowledge in the ſciences: a murmur equally trifling and unjuſt, and which the light of reaſon only

Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 69.

* Ut ego jam non mirer illud Theophraſto accidiſſe quod dicitur, cùm percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet? & reſpondiſſet illa, atque addidiſſet: *Hoſpes, non pote minoris:* tuliſſe eum moleſtè, ſe non effugere hoſpitis ſpeciem, cùm ætatem ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *In Brut.* n. 172.

Quomodo & illa Attica anus Theophraſtum, hominem alioqui diſertiſſimum, annotata unius affectatione verbi, hoſpitem dixit: nec aliò ſe id deprehendiſſe interrogata reſpondit quàm quòd nimium Atticè loqueretur. *Quintil.* l. 8. c. 1.

† Spoliavit virtutem ſuo decore, imbecillamque reddidit, quod negavit in ea ſola poſitum eſſe beatè vivere. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 33.

has

has taught many of the antients to condemn, as a kind of rebellion againſt the divine will. *Quid enim eſt aliud gigantum more bellare cum diis, niſi naturæ repugnare?* Cic. de Senect. n. 5. Laert.

STRATO was of Lampſacus. He applied himſelf very much to phyſics, and little to ethics, which occaſioned his being called the phyſician. He began to preſide in his ſchool in the third year of the CXXIIId Olympiad, and taught there eighteen years. He was the maſter of Ptolomy Philadelphus. A. M. 3718.

LYCON of Troas. He governed his ſchool forty years.

ARISTON. CRITOLAUS. The latter was one of the three ambaſſadors ſent by the Athenians to Rome in the ſecond year of the CXLth Olympiad, and the 534th of Rome. A. M. 3781.

DIODORUS. This was one of the laſt eminent philoſophers of the ſect of the Peripatetics.

## ARTICLE VI.

### *Of the ſect of the Cynics.*

### ANTISTHENES.

THE Cynic philoſophers owe their origin and inſtitution to Antiſthenes the diſciple of Socrates. This ſect derives its name from the place where its founder taught, called * *Cynoſarges*, in the ſuburb of Athens. If this origin be true, at leaſt, we cannot doubt but their immodeſty and impudence might well have confirmed a name given them at firſt from the place. Antiſthenes led a very hard life, and for his whole dreſs had only a wretched cloak. He had a long beard, a ſtaff in his hand, and a wallet at his back. He reckoned nobility and riches as nothing, and made the ſu- Laert.

* *This word ſignifies a white, or a lively and ſwift dog.*

preme good of man conſiſt in virtue. When he was aſked of what uſe philoſophy had been to him, he anſwered, *To enable me to live with myſelf.*

## DIOGENES.

Laert. DIOGENES was the moſt celebrated of his diſciples. He was of Synope a city of Paphlagonia. He was expelled from thence for counterfeiting the coin. His father, who was a banker, was baniſhed for the ſame crime. Diogenes, upon arriving at Athens, went to Antiſthenes, who treated him with great contempt, and would have driven him away with his ſtaff, becauſe he was reſolved to have no more diſciples. Diogenes was not ſurpriſed, and bowing his head, "Strike, ſtrike, ſaid he, don't "be afraid: you'll never find a ſtick hard enough "to make me remove, ſo long as you ſpeak." Antiſthenes, overcome by the obſtinacy of Diogenes, permitted him to be his diſciple.

Diogenes made great improvements from his leſſons, and perfectly imitated his manner of living.

His whole furniture conſiſted of a ſtaff, a wallet, and a wooden bowl. Seeing a little boy drink out of the hollow of his hand: *He ſhews me*, ſays he, *that I have ſtill ſomething ſuperfluous*, and broke his bowl. He always went barefoot, without ever wearing ſandals, not even when the earth was covered with ſnow. A tub ſerved him for a lodging, which he rolled before him wherever he went, and had no other habitation. Every body knows what he ſaid to Alexander, who made him a viſit at Corinth; and the celebrated ſaying of that prince, *If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* * Juvenal, accordingly, finds the inhabitant of the tub greater and more happy than the conqueror of the univerſe. The one deſired nothing, and the whole

Senſit Alexander, teſta cùm vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
Nil cuperet, quàm qui totum ſibi poſceret orbem,

world

world was too little for the other. * Seneca therefore is not miſtaken, when he ſays that Alexander, the proudeſt of mankind, who believed that every thing ought to tremble before him, was forced that day to ſubmit to Diogenes, having found a man in him, from whom he could take, and to whom he could give, nothing.

For the reſt, we are not to believe, that he was the more humble for his ragged cloak, bag, and tub. He had as much vanity in thoſe things, as Alexander could have from the conqueſt of the whole earth. One day entering Plato's houſe, which was furniſhed magnificently enough, he trampled a fine carpet under his feet, ſaying, *I tread upon the pride of Plato. Yes*, replied the latter, *but with another kind of pride.* Ælian. l. 3. c. 29. Laert.

He had a ſupreme contempt for all human race. Walking at noon with a lighted lanthorn in his hand, ſomebody aſked him what he ſought? *I am ſeeking a man*, replied he.

Upon ſeeing a ſlave put on a perſon's ſhoes: *You'll not be ſatisfied*, ſays he, *till he wipes your noſe for you. Of what uſe are your hands to you?*

Another time ſeeing the judges carrying a man to be puniſhed for ſtealing a little vial out of the public treaſury: *See*, ſaid he, *the great thieves have catched a little one!*

The relations of a young man, whom they brought to him to be his diſciple, ſaid all the good things of him imaginable: that he was prudent, of good morals, and knew a great deal. Diogenes heard them very calmly: *As he is ſo accompliſhed*, ſaid he, *he has no occaſion for me.*

He was accuſed of ſpeaking and thinking ill of the divinity. He ſaid that the uninterrupted good fortune of Harpalus, who generally paſſed for a De nat. deor. l. 3. n. 83.

* Quidni victus ſit illo die, qui homo, ſupra menſuram humanæ ſuperbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam poſſet, nec eripere. *Senec. de Benef.* l. 5. c. 6.

thief and a robber, was a teſtimony againſt the gods.

Amongſt excellent maxims of morality, he held ſome very pernicious opinions. He regarded chaſtity and modeſty as weakneſs, and was not afraid to act openly with an impudence contrary to all ſenſe of decency and natural ſhame. And indeed the character of the Cynics was to overdo every thing in reſpect to manners, and to render virtue itſelf hateful, if poſſible, by the exceſſes and inconſiſtencies to which they carried it:

Inſani ſapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra, quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſam.
*Hor.* Ep. 6. l. 1.

*More than enough, in virtue's ſelf is bad;*
*Juſt's then unjuſt; the wiſeman grows the mad.*

His hiſtorian gives him moſt perſuaſive eloquence, of which he relates wonderful effects. Oneſicritus had ſent one of his ſons to Athens. That young man, having heard ſome of Diogenes's lectures, ſettled in that city. His elder brother ſoon after did the ſame. Oneſicritus himſelf, having had the curioſity to hear that philoſopher, became his diſciple, ſuch attractions had the eloquence of Diogenes. This Oneſicritus was a perſon of importance. He was in great favour with Alexander, followed him in his wars, in which he had employments of diſtinction, and compoſed an hiſtory that contained the beginning of Alexander's life. Phocion, ſtill more illuſtrious than him, was alſo the diſciple of Diogenes, as was Stilpon of Mægara.

Diog. Laert.

Plut. in Alex. p. 701.

Diogenes in going to the iſland of Egina was taken by pirates, who carried him to Crete, where they expoſed him to ſale. When he was aſked by the cryer, *What he could do?* he anſwered, *Command men*, and bade him ſay, *Will any body buy a maſter?* A Corinthian called Xeniades bought him, and carried him to Corinth, where he made him preceptor

Diog. Laert.

ceptor to his ſons. He confided alſo the whole care of his houſe to him. Diogenes acquitted himſelf ſo well of thoſe employments, that Xeniades was inceſſantly ſaying every-where, *A good genius has taken up his abode in my houſe.* The friends of Diogenes would have ranſomed him: *No*, ſaid he, *that's fooliſh. Lions are not the ſlaves of thoſe that feed them, but thoſe that feed them their ſervants.* He educated the children of Xeniades very well, and acquired their affection to a great degree. He grew old in this houſe, and ſome ſay he died there.

He ordered at his death that his body ſhould be left upon the earth without interment. "How! "ſaid his friends, would you lie expoſed to the "birds and beaſts? No, replied he, put my ſtick "by me, that I may drive them away. And "how will you do that, ſaid they, when you have "no ſenſe? What then does it ſignify, anſwered "the Cynic, whether I am eaten or not by the birds "and beaſts, as I ſhall have no ſenſe of it?" Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 104.

No regard was had to the great indifference of Diogenes about interment. He was buried magnificently near the gate next the Iſthmus. A column was erected near his tomb, on which a dog of Parian marble was placed.

He died at almoſt fourſcore and ten years of age, according to ſome upon the ſame day as Alexander, but others make him ſurvive that prince ſome years.

## CRATES.

CRATES the Cynic was one of the principal diſciples of Diogenes. He was a Theban of a very conſiderable family, and of great fortune. He ſold his whole patrimony for more than two hundred talents, which he put into the hands of a banker, and deſired him to give them to his children, in caſe they proved fools; but, if they had elevation of mind enough to be philoſophers, he directed him to diſtribute the money amongſt the citizens of Diog. Laert. *Two hundred thouſand crowns.*

Thebes, becauſe philoſophers wanted nothing: always exceſs and caprice even in actions laudable in themſelves.

Hipparchia, the ſiſter of the orator Metrocles, charmed with the freedom of Crates's manners, was abſolutely determined to marry him, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all her relations. Crates, to whom they applied themſelves, did all he could on his ſide to make her diſguſt this marriage. Having ſtript himſelf before her to ſhew her his hunch-back and ill-made body in the worſt light, and throwing his cloak, bag, and ſtaff, upon the ground: *There*, ſays he, *are all my riches, and my wife muſt expect no other jointure from me.* She perſiſted in her reſolution, married hunch-back, dreſſed herſelf like a Cynic, and became ſtill more *free* and impudent than her huſband.

* Impudence was the prevailing character of theſe philoſophers. They reproached others with their faults without any reſerve, and even added an air of inſolence and contempt to their reproaches. This, according to ſome, occaſioned their being called Cynics, becauſe they were biting, and barked at all the world like dogs; and becauſe they were aſhamed of nothing, and held that every thing might be done openly without ſhame or reſerve.

A. M. 3676. Crates flouriſhed at Thebes about the CXIIIth Olympiad, and excelled all the Cynics of his time. He was the maſter of Zeno, the founder of the famous ſect of the Stoics.

## ARTICLE VII.

### *Of the Stoics.*

### ZENO.

Diog. Laert. ZENO was of Citium in the iſland of Cyprus. On his return from buying purple in Phœni-

* *They called immodeſty nature; and ſo it is, the nature of brutes, not man, whoſe* Reaſon *makes him naturally aſhamed of the obſcene and indecent.*

cia,

cia, for he applied himſelf firſt to commerce, he was caſt away in the port of Pyræus. He was much afflicted with his loſs, and removed to Athens, where he went into a bookſeller's ſhop, and took up a book of Xenophon's, the reading of which gave him infinite pleaſure, and made him forget his misfortune. He aſked the bookſeller, where that ſort of people, of whom Xenophon ſpoke, were to be found. Crates the Cynic happened to paſs by at that inſtant. The bookſeller pointed him out to Zeno, and adviſed him to follow him. From that day he commenced his diſciple; at which time he was thirty years of age. The morality of the Cynics highly pleaſed him, but he could not reliſh their immodeſty and impudence. A. M. 3672.

After having ſtudied ten years under Crates, and paſſed ten more in the houſes of Stilpon of Mægara, Xenocrates, and Polemon, he inſtituted a new ſect at Athens. His reputation immediately ſpread throughout Greece. In a ſhort time he became the moſt diſtinguiſhed philoſopher in the country. As he uſually taught in a porch, his followers were called *Stoics*, from the Greek word στοὰ, which ſignifies a porch or portico. A. M. 3692.

Zeno lived to the age of ninety-eight, without ever experiencing any diſorder of body. He taught forty-eight years ſucceſſively, and lived ſixty-eight from his firſt applying to philoſophy under Crates the Cynic. Euſebius dates his death at the CXXIXth Olympiad, which was much regretted. When Antigonus king of Macedonia received news of it, he was ſenſibly afflicted. The Athenians cauſed a tomb to be erected for him in the ſuburb of Ceramica, and by a public decree (wherein he was praiſed as a philoſopher who had perpetually excited the youth under his diſcipline to virtue, and who had always led a life conformable to the precepts he taught) they gave him a crown of gold, and cauſed extraordinary honours to be paid to his memory; Laert. A. M. 3743.

memory: "In order, ſays the decree, that all the "world may know, that the Athenians are ſtudious "to honour perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit, both "during their lives and after their deaths." Nothing does a people more honour than ſuch noble and generous ſentiments, which ariſe from an high eſteem for knowledge and virtue.

I have already obſerved elſewhere that a neighbouring nation, I mean England, diſtinguiſhes itſelf by its eſteem for great men of this kind, and by the gratitude it expreſſes for thoſe who have exalted the glory of their country.

## LEUCIPPUS.

LEUCIPPUS is one of the moſt famous of Zeno's diſciples. Authors do not agree about the place of his birth. He is believed the inventor of the atomical ſyſtem. Poſidonius aſcribes it to one Moſchus of Phœnicia, who, according to Strabo, lived before the Trojan war: but the moſt learned perſons give Leucippus the honour of it. Epicurus is blamed for not owning his improvement from the inventions of this philoſopher, and reproached with having only reformed the ſyſtem of Democritus in ſome places, of which Leucippus was the firſt author.

Strab. l. 16. p. 557.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. n. 72, 73.

## CLEANTHES.

CLEANTHES was of Aſſos in Troas. He was worth but four drachma's, that is to ſay, thirty pence, when he came to Athens. He recommended himſelf highly by the courageous patience, with which he ſupported the hardeſt and moſt painful labours. He paſſed almoſt the whole night in drawing water for a gardener, in order to gain ſubſiſtence, and to enable himſelf, during the day, to apply to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Being cited before the judges of the Areopagus, to give an account, according to one of Solon's laws, how he lived, he pro-

Laert.

produced the gardener as an evidence, and without doubt his own hands, hard and callous with labour. The judges, in a tranſport of admiration, ordered him ten minæ, about thirty pounds, out of the public treaſury. Zeno forbade him to accept of them, ſo much was poverty in honour with theſe philoſophers! He filled the chair of the Porch with great reputation.

His genius was naturally heavy and ſlow; but he overcame that defect by tenacious application to ſtudy. Eloquence was not his talent. * He however thought fit to compoſe a Rhetoric, as well as Chryſippus, of whom we ſhall ſoon ſpeak; but both with ſuch bad ſucceſs, that, if we may believe Cicero, who certainly was a good judge in this caſe, thoſe works were fitter to make a man mute than a ſpeaker.

## CHRYSIPPUS.

CHRYSIPPUS was of Soli, a city of Cilicia. His genius was very ſubtile, and proper for logical diſputations, in which he exerciſed himſelf much, and upon which he wrote many tracts. Diogenes Laertius makes them amount to above three hundred. It is ſaid that the occaſion of his writing abundance was his envy of Epicurus, who had compoſed more books than any other philoſopher: but he never came up to that rival. His works were little laboured, and by neceſſary conſequence little correct, full of tedious repetitions, and often even contradictions. It was the common fault of the Stoics to introduce abundance of ſubtilty and dryneſs into their diſputations either by word of mouth or in writing. They ſeem as carefully to have avoided all beauty of ſtile, as depravity of Laert.

* Scripſit artem rhetoricam Cleanthes, Chryſippus etiam, ſed hic, ut, ſi quis obmuteſcere concupierit, nihil aliud legere debeat. *De Finib. l.* 4. *n.* 7.

morals.

morals. * Cicero did not blame them much for wanting a talent entirely foreign to their profeſſion, and not abſolutely neceſſary to it. † *If a philoſopher*, ſays he, *have eloquence, I do not like him the worſe for it: if not, I make it no crime in him.* ‡ He was ſatisfied if they were clear and intelligible; for which he valued Epicurus.

Quintilian often cites with praiſe a work written by Chryſippus upon the education of children.

Academ. l. 4. n. 7. He aſſociated himſelf for ſome time with the Academics, maintaining after their manner both ſides of a queſtion. The Stoics complained, that Chryſippus had collected ſo many and ſo ſtrong arguments for the ſyſtem of the Academics, that he could not afterwards refute them himſelf, which had ſupplied Carneades their antagoniſt with arms againſt them.

Plut. contra Stoic. p. 1074, 1075. Laert. His doctrine, in many points, did no honour to his ſect, and could only diſgrace it. He believed the gods periſhable, and maintained that they would actually periſh in the general conflagration. He allowed the moſt notorious and moſt abominable inceſts, and admitted the community of wives amongſt Sages. He compoſed ſeveral writings full of the moſt horrid obſcenities. Such was the § philoſopher, who paſſed for the moſt ſolid ſupport of the Porch, that is to ſay, of the moſt ſevere ſect of the Pagan world.

It muſt appear aſtoniſhing after this, that || Seneca ſhould praiſe this philoſopher, whom he joins with

* Videmus iiſdem de rebus jejunè quoſdam & exiliter, ut eum, quem acutiſſimum ferunt, Chryſippum diſputaviſſe; neque ob eam rem philoſophiæ non ſatisfeciſſe, quòd non habuerunt hanc dicendi ex arte alienam facultatem. *De Orat. l. 1. n. 49.*

† A philoſopho, ſi afferat eloquentiam, non aſperner: ſi non habeat, non admodum flagitem. *De Finib. l. 1. n. 15.*

‡ Oratio me iſtius philoſophi non offendit. Nam & complectitur verbis quod vult, & dicit planè quod intelligam. *Ibid.*

§ Fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum. *Academ. 4, 75.*

|| Nos certè ſumus, qui dicimus, & Zenonem & Chryſippum majora egiſſe, quàm ſi duxiſſent exercitus, geſſiſſent honores, leges tuliſſent,

with Zeno, in the moſt magnificent terms. He goes ſo far as to ſay of both the one and the other, that they had done greater things in their cloſets, than if they had commanded armies, filled the firſt offices of a ſtate, and inſtituted wiſe laws; and he adds, that he conſiders them, not as the legiſlators of a ſingle city, but of all mankind.

Chryſippus died in the CXLIIId Olympiad. A A. M. tomb was erected for him amongſt thoſe of the moſt 3793. illuſtrious Athenians. His ſtatue was to be ſeen in the ſuburb of Ceramica.

## DIOGENES *the Babylonian.*

Diogenes the Babylonian was ſo called, becauſe his country, Seleucia, was in the neighbourhood of Babylon. He was one of the three philoſophers deputed by Athens to the Romans.

He ſhewed great moderation and tranquillity of ſoul upon an occaſion capable of moving the calmeſt and moſt patient of men. * He was expatiating upon anger. A young man of great impudence and preſumption ſpit in his face, probably to try whether he practiſed himſelf the doctrine he taught others. The philoſopher, without ſeeming moved, or raiſing his voice, ſaid coldly, *I am not angry: but however I doubt whether I ought not to be ſo.* Did ſuch a doubt ſuit the apathy of a Stoic?

## ANTIPATER.

Antipater was of Sidon. He is often mentioned in the fourth book of Academical Queſtions as one of the moſt learned and eſteemed of the Stoics. He was the diſciple of Diogenes the Babylonian, and Poſidonius was his.

tuliſſent, quas, non uni civitati, ſed toti humano generi tulerunt. *Senec. de Ot. ſap. c.* 32.

* Ei de ira cùm maximè differenti adoleſcens protervus inſpuit. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac ſapienter. Non quidem, inquit, iraſcor: ſed dubito tamen an iraſci oporteat. *Senec de ira, l.* 3. *c.* 38.

PANÆ-

## PANÆTIUS.

PANÆTIUS was, without contradiction, one of the moſt famous philoſophers of the Stoic ſect. He was a Rhodian, and his anceſtors had commanded the armies of that ſtate. We may date his birth about the middle of the CXLVIIIth Olympiad.

Strab. l. 14. p. 655.

A. M. 3814.

He perfectly anſwered the peculiar care that had been taken of his education, and devoted himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Inclination, perhaps prejudice, determined him in favour of the Stoic ſect, at that time in the higheſt credit. Antipater of Tarſus was his maſter. He heard him as a man that underſtood the Rights of reaſon; and, notwithſtanding the blind deference with which the Stoics received the deciſions of the founders of the Porch, Panætius abandoned thoſe without ſcruple, which did not appear ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

Divin. l. 1. n. 6.

To ſatisfy the deſire of knowledge, that was his darling paſſion, he quitted Rhodes, without regard to the advantages for which the greatneſs of his birth ſeemed to deſign him. The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in every kind of literature uſually aſſembled at Athens, and the Stoics had a famous ſchool there. Panætius frequented it with aſſiduity, and at length ſupported its reputation with dignity. The Athenians reſolved to make him their own, and offered him the freedom of their city; for which he returned them his thanks. "A modeſt "man, ſaid he to them in reſpect to Proclus, "ought to content himſelf with one country:" in which he imitated Zeno, who, leſt it might be injurious to his own citizens, would not accept the ſame favour.

Plut. de Stoic. repugn. p. 1034. Procl. in Heſiod. p. 151.

The fame of Panætius ſoon extended itſelf beyond the ſeas. The ſciences had for ſome time made conſiderable progreſs at Rome. The Great cultivated them in emulation of each other, and thoſe whom their birth and capacity had placed at the

the head of the public affairs, made it their honour to protect them to the utmoſt. Such was the ſtate of things when Panætius came to Rome. He was ardently deſired there. The young nobility flew to hear him; and the Scipio's and the Lælii were of the number of his diſciples. A tender friendſhip united them from thenceforth, and Panætius, as many writers inform us, attended Scipio in his ſeveral expeditions. To make him amends, that illuſtrious Roman, on a ſignal occaſion, gave him the moſt grateful marks of his confidence. * Panætius was the only one upon whom he caſt his eyes, when the ſenate appointed him ambaſſador to the nations and kings of the Eaſt in alliance with the commonwealth. The credit of Panætius with Scipio was not uſeleſs to the Rhodians, and was often employed for them with ſucceſs. Plut. in Moral. p. 814.

The year of his death is not preciſely known. Cicero tells us, that Panætius lived thirty years after having publiſhed his treatiſe upon the duties of man, which Cicero has diffuſed into his: but it is not known at what time that treatiſe appeared. It is probable that he publiſhed it in the flower of his age. The value Cicero ſet on it, and the uſe he made of it, are good proofs of the excellency of this work, of which therefore we ſhould regret the loſs. He compoſed abundance of others. The reader may ſee an account of them in the memoir of the Abbé Sevin upon the life of Panætius, from which I have extracted all I have ſaid of them in this place. Tom. X. *des Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres.*

To the praiſe of the Stoics it muſt be confeſſed, that, leſs intent than other philoſophers upon frivolous and often dangerous ſpeculations, they devoted their ſtudies to the clearing up of thoſe great principles of morality, which are the firmeſt ſupports

* P. Africani hiſtoriæ loquuntur, in legatione illa nobili quam obiit, Panætium unum omnino comitem fuiſſe. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 5.

of

of ſociety: * but the dryneſs and ſtiffneſs that prevailed in their writings, as well as in their manners, diſguſted moſt of their readers, and abundantly leſſened their utility. The example of Cleanthes and Chryſippus, the founders of the Porch, did not miſlead Panætius. Attentive to the good of the public, and that the uſeful generally is not current without the agreeable, he united the ſolidity of argument with the beauty and elegance of ſtile, and diffuſed into his works all the graces and ornaments of which they were ſuſceptible.

## POSIDONIUS.

Posidonius was of Apamea in Syria, but he paſſed the greateſt part of his life at Rhodes, where he taught philoſophy with much reputation, and was employed in the affairs of the public with the ſame ſucceſs.

Pompey, on his return from his expedition againſt Mithridates, touched at Rhodes in order to ſee him. He found him ſick. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, in what manner this viſit paſſed.

## EPICTETUS.

I ſhould injure the ſect of the Stoics, if in the number of its followers I omitted Epictetus, the man perhaps, of all theſe philoſophers, who did it moſt honour by the ſublimity of his ſentiments, and the regularity of his life.

Epictetus was born at Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia near Laodicea. The meanneſs of his extraction has prevented us from the knowledge of his parents. He was the ſlave of one Epaphroditus, whom Suidas calls *one of Nero's guards*; from whence he took his name Epictetus, which ſigni-

* Stoïci horridiores evadunt, aſperiores, duriores & oratione & moribus. Quam illorum triſtitiam atque aſperitatem fugiens Panætius, nec acerbitatem ſententiarum, nec differendi ſpinas probavit: fuitque in altero genere mitior, in altero illuſtrior. *De Finib. l.* 4. *n.* 78, 79.

fies

fies *bought ſervant* or *ſlave*. It is neither ſaid by what accident he was brought to Rome, nor how he came to be ſold to Epaphroditus: it is only known that he was the latter's ſlave. Epictetus was apparently made free. He always was a follower of the Stoic philoſophy, which was at that time the moſt perfect and the moſt ſevere ſect. ἐπίκτητος.

He lived at Rome till the edict of Domitian, by which all philoſophers were baniſhed from thence. A. D. 96. * If we may believe Quintilian, many of them concealed great vices under ſo fair a name, and had acquired the reputation of philoſophers, not by their virtue and knowledge, but by a grave and ſevere countenance, and a ſingularity of dreſs and behaviour, which ſerved as a maſk for very corrupt manners. Quintilian is perhaps a little exceſſive in this deſcription, with the view of pleaſing the Emperor: but it is certain, that it could in no manner be applied to Epictetus.

Upon quitting Rome, he went to ſettle at Nicopolis, a conſiderable city of Epirus, where he lived many years, always in great poverty, but highly honoured and eſteemed. He returned afterwards to Rome in the reign of Adrian, with whom he was in great conſideration. Neither the time, place, nor any other circumſtances of his death are mentioned: he died at a ſufficiently great age.

He confined all his philoſophy to ſuffering ills patiently, and moderation in pleaſure, which he expreſſed by the two Greek words, *ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, ſuſtine & abſtine.*

Celſus, who wrote againſt the Chriſtians, ſays, that, upon his maſter's bending his leg with great violence, he told him without emotion, and in a laughing manner: *Why you'll break my leg.* And, Orig. in Celſ. l. 7.

* Noſtris temporibus ſub hoc nomine maxima in pleriſque vitia latuerunt. Non enim virtute ac ſtudiis, ut haberentur philoſophi, laborabant; ſed vultum, & triſtitiam, & diſſentientem à cæteris habitum, peſſimis moribus prætendebant. *Quintil.* l. 1. *in Præm.*

as it happened ſo, he continued in the ſame tone: *Did not I tell you, that you'd break it?*

Lucian. adverſ. indoct. p. 548.

Lucian ridicules a man, who bought Epictetus's lamp at a great * price, though only an earthen one; as if he had imagined that by uſing it he ſhould become as wiſe as that admirable and venerable old man.

Epictetus had compoſed many works, of which only his *Enchiridion* or *Manual* remain. But Arrian, his diſciple, has written a great work, which, as he pretends, conſiſts ſolely of what he had heard him ſay, and which he had collected, as near as poſſible, in his own terms. Of the eight books which formed this work, we have only four.

Stobæus has preſerved us ſome ſentences of this philoſopher's, which had eſcaped the diligence of his diſciple. I ſhall cite only two of them in this place:

"To be rich does not depend on thee, but to "be happy does. Riches themſelves are not al- "ways a good, and certainly are always of ſhort "duration; but the happineſs, derived from wiſ- "dom, endures for ever.

"When thou ſeeſt a viper or a ſerpent in a box "of gold, doſt thou eſteem it the more, and haſt "thou not always the ſame horror for it on ac- "count of its venomous nature? Have the ſame "for the wicked man, when thou ſeeſt him ſur- "rounded with ſplendor and riches.

"The ſun does not ſtay to be implored to im- "part his light and heat. By his example do all "the good thou canſt, without ſtaying till it be "aſked of thee."

The following prayer Epictetus deſired to make at his death, which I take from Arrian: "O "Lord, have I violated your commandments? "Have I abuſed the gifts you have conferred up-

* *Three thouſand drachma's, about* 75l.

"on

" on me? Have I not ſubmitted my ſenſes, wiſhes, " and opinions, to you? Have I ever complained " of you? Have I accuſed your providence? I " have been ſick, becauſe it was your will; and it " was alſo mine. It was your will that I ſhould " be poor, and I was contented with poverty. I " have been of the meaneſt of the people, becauſe " it was your will; and did I ever deſire to be " otherwiſe? Was I ever afflicted for my condi- " tion? Have you ever ſurpriſed me murmuring " and dejected? I am ſtill entirely ready to under- " go whatever you ſhall pleaſe to ordain for me. " The leaſt ſign from you is an inviolable order for " me. It is your will that I ſhould quit this magnifi- " cent ſcene: I go, with a thouſand moſt humble " thanks, that you have vouchſafed to admit me " to ſee your works, and to diſplay to my eyes the " admirable order, with which you govern this " univerſe." Though it be eaſy to obſerve in this prayer ſeveral ſtrokes borrowed from Chriſtianity, which at that time began to caſt a great light, we however perceive in it a man well ſatisfied with himſelf, and who, by his frequent interrogations, ſeems to defy the Divinity himſelf to find any fault in him. A ſentiment and prayer truly worthy of a Stoic, all proud of his pretended virtue! St. Paul, who abounded ſo much in good works, did not ſpeak ſuch language. *I judge not mine own ſelf,* ſaid he. *For I know nothing by myſelf,* (or as the French expreſſes it better, *though my conſcience reproaches me with nothing) yet am I not hereby juſtified: but he that judge thme is the Lord.* For the reſt, this prayer, all defective as it is, will condemn abundance of Chriſtians. For it ſhews us, that a perfect obedience, an entire devotion, and total reſignation to the will of God, were conſidered by the Pagans themſelves, as the indiſpenſable duties of creatures to him from whom they hold their being. This philoſopher knew the terms of duties and

1 Cor. iv. 3, 4.

virtues, but had the misfortune to be ignorant of the principle of them.

Epictetus was at Rome at the time when St. Paul made ſo many converſions there, and when Chriſtianity almoſt at its birth ſhone out with ſo much luſtre in the unexampled conſtancy of the Faithful. But far, from improving from ſo radiant a light, he blaſphemed againſt the faith of the primitive Chriſtians, and the heroic courage of the martyrs. In the fourth chapter of the ſeventh book of Arrian, after having ſhewn, that a man, conſcious of his liberty, and convinced that nothing can hurt him, becauſe he has God for his deliverer, fears neither the guards nor ſwords of tyrants, Epictetus adds: PHRENZY AND CUSTOM *have been capable of inducing ſome to deſpiſe them, as the* * *Galileans; and ſhall not reaſon and demonſtration produce the ſame effect?* Nothing was more contrary to the doctrine of the Goſpel than the pride of the Stoics.

* *So the Chriſtians were called.*

## CHAPTER III.

*History of the philosophers of the Italic sect.*

I Have already said, that the Italic sect was so called, because it was instituted by Pythagoras in that part of Italy called Græcia Magna.

I shall divide this chapter into two articles. In the first I shall relate the life of Pythagoras, and that of Empedocles the most famous of his disciples. In the second I shall treat on the division of the Italic into four other sects.

### ARTICLE I.

### PYTHAGORAS.

THE most common opinion is that Pythagoras was of Samos, and son of Mnesarchus the sculptor. He was at first the disciple of Pherecides, who is ranked in the number of the seven sages. After the death of his master, as he had an extraordinary desire of learning and of knowing the manners of strangers, he abandoned his country, and all he had, for the sake of travelling. Diog. Laert.

He remained a considerable time in Egypt, to converse there with the priests, and to learn from them whatever was most occult in the mysteries of their religion and learning. Polycrates wrote in his favour to Amasis king of Egypt, in order that he might treat him with distinction. Pythagoras went afterwards into the country of the Chaldeans, to acquire the learning of the Magi. Some imagine that he might have seen Ezekiel and Daniel, and have improved from their lessons at Babylon. After having travelled into different parts of the East, he went to Crete, where he contracted a great intimacy A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564.

with the wife Epimenides. And at laſt, after having inriched himſelf with different knowledge in the ſeveral countries where he had been, he returned to Samos, laden with the precious ſpoils which had been the motives, and were the fruits of his travels.

His grief to ſee his country oppreſſed by the tyranny of Polycrates made him reſolve on voluntary baniſhment. He went into that part of Italy which was called Great Greece, and ſettled at Crotona in the houſe of Milo, the famous boxer, where he taught philoſophy. It is from thence that the Sect, of which he was author, was called the Italic ſect.

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 5. n. 9. Before him, as I have obſerved already, thoſe who excelled in the knowledge of nature, and had acquired reputation by a virtuous and regular life, were called ſages, σοφοί. That name appearing too proud to him, he aſſumed another, which implied, that he did not aſcribe the poſſeſſion of wiſdom to himſelf, but only the deſire of poſſeſſing it. This was *Philoſopher*, that is to ſay, lover of wiſdom.

The reputation of Pythagoras ſoon ſpread over all Italy, and brought a great number of diſciples to hear him. Some make Numa of this number, who was elected king of Rome: but they miſtake. Pythagoras flouriſhed in the time of Tarquin the laſt king of the Romans, that is, in the 220th year of Rome; or, according to Livy, in the reign of Servius Tullius. The * error of thoſe who make him king Numa's cotemporary is glorious for them both. For they had not fallen into it, if they had not believed that Numa could not have ſhewn ſo much ability and wiſdom in his government, if he had not been the diſciple of Pythagoras. Certain it is that his reputation afterwards became very great at Rome. The Romans muſt have conceived a very high idea of him, as, upon being commanded by an

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 38. A. M. 3472.

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 3.

Plut. in Num. p. 65.

Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

* *Ovid has followed this falſe tradition in the fifteenth book of the Metamorphoſes.*

oracle

oracle during the war with the Samnites to erect two ſtatues, the one to the braveſt, and the other to the wiſeſt, of the Greeks, they ſet up thoſe of Alcibiades and Pythagoras. Pliny was much ſurpriſed that they choſe either of them.

He made his ſcholars undergo a ſevere noviciate of ſilence for at leaſt two years, and * extended it to five with thoſe in whom he diſcerned a too great itch for talking.

His diſciples were divided into two claſſes. The one were ſimple hearers, hearkening to and receiving what was taught them, without demanding the reaſons of it, of which it was ſuppoſed they were not yet capable. The others, as more formed and intelligent, were admitted to propoſe their difficulties, to penetrate deeper into the principles of philoſophy, and to learn the reaſons of all that was taught them. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. 5. ἀκουστικοί. μαθηματικοί.

Pythagoras conſidered geometry and arithmetic, as abſolutely neceſſary to enlarge the minds of young people, and to prepare them for the ſtudy of great truths. He alſo ſet great value upon, and made great uſe of, muſic, to which he referred every thing; † pretending that the world was formed by a kind of harmony imitated afterwards by the lyre; and he annexed peculiar ſounds to the motion of the celeſtial ſpheres which revolve over our heads. It is ſaid that it was the ‡ cuſtom of the Pythagoreans, on riſing frombed, to awaken the mind with the ſound of the lyre, in order to make themſelves

* Loquaciores enimvero fermè in quinquennium, velut in exilium vocis, mittebantur. *Apul., in Florid.*

† Pythagoras atque eum ſecuti, acceptam ſine dubio antiquitus opinionem vulgaverunt, mundum ipſum ea ratione eſſe compoſitum, quam poſtea ſit lyra imitata. Nec illa modò contenti diſſimilium concordia, quam vocant ἁρμονίαν, ſonum quoque his motibus dederunt. *Quintil.* l. 1. c. 10.

‡ Pythagoreis certè moris fuit, & cùm evigilaſſent, animos ad lyram excitare, quò eſſent ad agendum erectiores; & cùm ſomnum peterent, ad eandem priùs lenire mentem, ut, ſi quid fuiſſet turbidiorum cogitationum, componerent. *Quintil.* l. 9. c. 4.

more fit for action: and, before going to bed, they reſumed their lyre, which no doubt they touched to a ſofter ſtrain, in order to prepare themſelves for ſleep, by calming whatever might remain of the tumultuous thoughts of the day.

Pythagoras had a great aſcendant over the minds of his ſcholars. His having advanced any thing ſufficed for them to be convinced of it without farther proof: from whence came the famous ſaying. Plut. de adul. & amic. diſcr. p. 70. αὐτὸς ἔφη, *ipſe dixit, he (the maſter) has ſaid it.* A reprimand which he gave one of his ſcholars in the preſence of all the reſt, ſo ſenſibly affected him, that he could not ſurvive it, and killed himſelf. From thenceforth Pythagoras, inſtructed and infinitely afflicted by ſo mournful an example, never rebuked any body except in private.

Juſtin. l. 20. c. 4. His doctrine, and ſtill more his example, produced a wonderful change in Italy, and eſpecially at Crotona, where he principally reſided. Juſtin deſcribes at large the reformation which he introduced into that city. "He came, ſays he, to "Crotona, and, having found the inhabitants in ge- "neral abandoned to luxury and debauch, he con- "ciliated them at length by his authority to the "rules of a prudent frugality. He continually "praiſed virtue, and inculcated its beauty and ad- "vantages. He repreſented in the moſt lively "terms the ſhame of intemperance, and enume- "rated the ſtates which had been ruined in conſe- "quence of vicious exceſſes. His diſcourſe made "ſuch an impreſſion on the people, and occa- "ſioned ſo general a change in the city, that it "ſeemed a quite different place, and retained no "marks of the antient Crotona. He ſpoke to the "women ſeparately from the men, and the chil- "dren from their fathers and mothers. To the "wives he recommended the virtues of their ſex, "chaſtity and ſubmiſſion to their huſbands; to "the youth, profound reſpect for their fathers and "mothers,

" mothers, and a taſte for ſtudy and the ſciences. " *He inſiſted principally upon frugality the mo- " ther of all virtues; and prevailed upon the la- " dies to renounce the fine cloaths, and rich orna- " ments, which they thought eſſential to their rank, " but which he conſidered as the food of luxury " and vice. Theſe they ſacrificed to the principal " divinity of the place, which was Juno; ſhewing " by ſo generous a conduct they were entirely con- " vinced, that the true ornament of ladies was " unſpotted virtue, and not magnificence of dreſs. " The reformation which the warm exhortations " of Pythagoras produced amongſt the youth, may " be judged, adds the hiſtorian, from their ſucceſs " with the ladies, who generally adhere to their " ornaments and jewels with almoſt invincible paſ- " ſion. *In juventute quoque quantum profligatum ſit,* " *victi fœminarum contumaces animi manifeſtant.*"

This laſt reflection, which naturally enough expreſſes the character of the ladies, is not made only by Juſtin. St. Jerom alſo obſerves, † *that the ſex are naturally fond of ornaments.* " We know ladies, " ſays he, of diſtinguiſhed chaſtity, who love to " adorn their perſons, not for the ſake of pleaſing " any man, but to pleaſe themſelves." And he adds elſewhere, that ſome of them carry that taſte to an exceſs which knows no bounds, and will hearken to no reaſon: *Ad quæ ardent & inſanunt ſtudia matronarum.* Hieron. Ep. ad Demetr.

The zeal of Pythagoras was not confined to his ſchool, and the inſtruction of private perſons, but even penetrated into the palaces of the great. That

* Inter hæc, velut genetricem virtutum frugalitatem omnibus ingerebat, conſecutuſque diſputationum aſſiduitate erat, ut matronæ auratas veſtes, cæteraque dignitatis ſuæ ornamenta, velut inſtrumenta luxuriæ, deponerent, eaque omnia delata in Junonis templum ipſi deæ conſecrarent; præ ſe ferentes, vera ornamenta matronarum pudicitiam, non veſtes, eſſe. *Juſtin.* l. 20. c. 4.

† Φιλόκοσμον genus fœmineum eſt: multaſque etiam inſignes pudicitiæ, quamvis nulli virorum, tamen ſibi ſcimus libenter ornari. *Hieron. Epiſt. ad Gaudent.*

philo-

philoſopher knew, that to inſpire princes and magiſtrates with the principles of honour, probity, juſtice, and love of public good, was labouring for the happineſs and reformation of whole nations. * He had the glory of forming diſciples, who proved excellent legiſlators: Zaleucus, Charondas, and many others, whoſe wiſe laws were ſo uſeful to Sicily, and that part of Italy called Great Greece, and who have a juſter title to the higheſt praiſes, than thoſe famed conquerors who have made themſelves known to the world only by ravages, fire and ſword.

He took great pains to put an end to wars in Italy, and to calm the inteſtine factions which diſturbed the tranquillity of ſtates. War, ſaid he, ſhould be made only againſt theſe five things: diſeaſes of the body, ignorance of the mind, paſſions of the heart, ſeditions of cities, and diſcord of families. Theſe five enemies he is for combating with the utmoſt ardour and perſeverance.

Val. Max. l. 8. c. 15. The inhabitants of Crotona thought proper, that their ſenate, which conſiſted of a thouſand perſons, ſhould act in all things by the advice of ſo great a man, and determine nothing but in concert with him; ſuch credit had his prudence and zeal for the public good acquired him.

Crotona was not the only city that had the benefit of his counſels: † many others experienced the good effects of this philoſopher's ſtudies. He went from one to another to diffuſe his inſtructions with greater fruit and abundance, and he left behind him, in all places where he continued any time, the precious footſteps of his reſidence in the

* Zaleuci leges Charondæque laudantur. Hi, non in foro, nec in conſultorum atrio, ſed in Pythagoræ tacito illo ſanctoque receſſu didicerunt jura, quæ florenti tunc Siciliæ & per Italiam Græciæ ponerent. *Senec.* Epiſt. 90.

† Plurimis & opulentiſſimis urbibus effectus ſuorum ſtudiorum approbavit. *Val.* l. 8. c. 7.

good

good order, diſcipline, and wiſe regulations which he eſtabliſhed in them.

His maxims of morality were admirable, and he was for having the ſtudy of philoſophy tend ſolely to the rendering men like God. Hierocles gives this praiſe to a piece of poetry, intitled, *Carmen aureum*, (golden verſes) which contain this philoſopher's maxims. Hierocl. in præf. ad carm. aurea.

But his notions of the nature of God were very imperfect. * He believed that God is a ſoul diffuſed into all the beings of nature, and from which human ſouls are derived: an opinion which Virgil †, in the fourth book of the Georgics, has expreſſed in perfectly fine verſes. Velleius, in Cicero, refutes this opinion in an agreeable but ſolid manner. "If "this were ſo, ſays he, God would be divided and "torn to pieces, when theſe ſouls were taken from "his ſubſtance. He would ſuffer, and God is "not capable of ſuffering, in a part of himſelf, "whenever they ſuffer, as frequently happens. Be"ſides which, how comes it that the mind of man "ſhould be ignorant of any thing, if it were God?"

The Metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls, was the principal maxim of Pythagoras's philoſophy. He had borrowed it either from the Egyptians, or the Brachmans, thoſe antient ſages of India. This opinion ſubſiſts ſtill among the idolaters of India and China, and is the fundamental principle of their religion. According to it, Pythagoras believed, that the ſouls of men at their death paſſed into other bodies, and, if they had been wicked, that they were confined in unclean and miſerable beaſts, to expiate the faults of their paſt lives; Laert.

* Pythagoras cenſuit Deum animum eſſe per naturam rerum omnem intentum & commeantem, ex quo animi noſtri caperentur. 2. *de Nat. deor.* n. 27.

† Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus
Æthereos dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes
Terraſque tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.

and

and that, after a certain revolution of years or ages, they returned to animate other men.

This philoſopher boaſted, in this reſpect, of a privilege entirely ſingular: for he ſaid * he remembered in what bodies he had been before he was Pythagoras. But he went no farther back than the ſiege of Troy. He had firſt been Æthalides, the ſuppoſed ſon of Mercury, and, having had permiſſion to aſk whatever he pleaſed of that god, except immortality, he deſired that he might remember all things even after death. Some time after he was Euphorbus, and received a mortal wound from Menelaus at the ſiege of Troy. His ſoul paſſed afterwards into Hermotimus, at which time he entered the temple of Apollo in the country of the Branchidæ, where he ſaw his buckler eaten up with ruſt, which Menelaus on his return from Troy had conſecrated to that god in token of his victory. He was afterwards a fiſherman of Delos, named Pyrrhus; and, laſtly, Pythagoras.

He affirmed that, in a voyage which he had made to hell, he had ſeen the ſoul of the poet Heſiod faſtened with chains to a pillar of braſs, and ſuffering great torments. That, as for that of Homer, he had ſeen it hanging on a tree, ſurrounded with ſerpents, upon account of the many falſhoods he had invented and aſcribed to the gods; and that the ſouls of the huſbands, who had lived amiſs with their wives, were ſeverely tormented in that region.

To give more weight and credit to theſe fabulous tales, he had made uſe of induſtry and artifice. Upon arriving in Italy, he ſhut himſelf up in a ſubterraneous place, after having deſired his mother to

* ——————— Habentque
Tartara Panthoïden iterum Orco
Demiſſum; quamvis clypeo Trojana refixo
Tempora teſtatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti conceſſerat atræ,
Judice te non ſordidus auctor
Naturæ. *Hor.* Od. 28. l. 1.

keep

keep an exact journal of all that ſhould paſs. When he had continued there as long as he judged proper, his mother, as they had agreed before, gave him her notes, wherein he found the dates and other circumſtances of events. He quitted this place with a viſage pale and wan. In an aſſembly of the people he aſſured them, that he was juſt returned from hell; and, to convince them of what he ſaid, he began with relating all that had paſſed during his abſence. All the hearers were moved and ſurpriſed with that account, and nobody doubted but that there was ſomething divine in Pythagoras. Fears and cries enſued on all ſides. The people of Crotona conceived an extraordinary eſteem for him, received his leſſons with great eagerneſs, and begged of him that he would vouchſafe to inſtruct their wives alſo.

There muſt have been a very blind credulity or rather groſs ſtupidity amongſt the people to have believed ſuch wild chimæras, which often even contradicted themſelves. For it does not ſeem very eaſy to reconcile the tranſmigration of ſouls into different bodies with the pains Pythagoras ſuppoſed that the ſouls of the wicked ſuffered in hell; and ſtill leſs with his doctrine upon the nature of ſouls. For, as the learned tranſlator of Cicero's books upon the nature of the gods obſerves, the ſouls of men, and thoſe of beaſts, according to Pythagoras, are of the ſame ſubſtance; that is to ſay, a particle of that univerſal Soul, which is God himſelf. When therefore it is ſaid, that the ſoul of Sardanapalus, as a puniſhment for his exceſſes, paſſes into the body of an hog, it is preciſely the ſame thing as to ſay, God modifies himſelf into an hog, in order to puniſh himſelf for not having been wiſe and temperate, whilſt he was modified in Sardanapalus.

Divinæ particulam auræ. *Horat.*

Lactantius * has reaſon for treating Pythagoras as

* Videlicet ſenex vanus (ſicut otioſæ aniculæ ſolent) fabulas tanquam infantibus credulis finxit. Quòd ſi bene ſenſiſſet de iis quibus hæc locutus eſt, ſi homines eos exiſtimaſſet, nunquam ſibi tam pe-

tulanter

as an old dotard, and for ſaying he muſt have thought that he had talked to infants and not to men, to vent ſuch abſurd fables and old women's ſtories to them with a grave and ſerious air.

Empedocles, his diſciple, roſe upon his maſter's ravings, and compoſed a genealogy of his ſoul ſtill more extravagant and various; for, according to Athenæus, he gave out, that he had been a girl, a boy, a ſhrub, a bird, and a fiſh, before he was Empedocles.

Athen. l. 8. p. 365.

But how could ſo great a philoſopher as Pythagoras, and one ſo valuable for abundance of excellent qualities, conceive ſo ſtrange a ſyſtem? How could he draw ſo great a number of followers after him, whilſt he advanced opinions capable of ſhocking every man of common ſenſe? How happens it, that whole nations, in other reſpects not void of knowledge, and civiliſed, have retained this doctrine down to our days?

It is moſt certain that Pythagoras, and all the antient philoſophers, when they began to philoſophiſe, found *the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul generally received by all nations*; and it was upon that principle Pythagoras, as well as the reſt, founded his ſyſtem. But, when the queſtion was to fix what became of that ſoul after its brief office of animating an human body, Pythagoras, and all the philoſophers with him, were at a loſs and in confuſion, without being able to reſolve upon any thing capable of ſatisfying a rational mind. They could not reconcile themſelves to the Elyſian fields for the virtuous, nor Styx for the wicked, mere fictions of the poets. Thoſe amuſements for the ſouls of the bleſſed ſeemed very inſipid to them; and could they be believed to exiſt without end, and to endure throughout all eternity? But the ſouls of thoſe, who had done neither good nor hurt,

tulaster mentiendi licentiam vindicaſſet. Sed deridenda hominis leviſſimi vanitas. *Lactant. divin. Inſtitut.* l. 3. c. 18.

as of infants, what became of them? What was to be their lot, their condition? What were they to do to all eternity?

To extricate themſelves from this very difficult objection, ſome philoſophers deſtined the ſouls of the wiſe and ingenious to the contemplation of the courſe of the ſtars, the harmony of the ſpheres, the origin of winds ſtorms, and other meteors, as Seneca and ſome other philoſophers teach. But the generality of the world could have no part in the learned and ſpeculative joys of this philoſophical paradiſe. What occupation then were they to have throughout futurity? They perceived, that it did not conſiſt with ſo wiſe a being as God to create beings purely ſpiritual every day, only to animate bodies for ſome ſhort ſpace, and to have no other employment during the reſt of eternal duration. Why create ſo many ſouls of infants, that die in their births, and at their mother's breaſts, without ever being able to make the leaſt uſe of their reaſon? Does it conſiſt with the wiſdom of God to produce ſo many thouſands of new ſouls every day, and to continue creating them every day throughout all eternity, without either uſe or purpoſe? What is to be done with thoſe infinite millions of uſeleſs inactive ſouls? What could be the end of forming thoſe inceſſantly increaſing numbers of ſpirits without either function or end?

Theſe were unſurmountable difficulties to all the ſects of philoſophers. In the impoſſibility of getting over them, ſome went ſo far as to doubt and even deny the immortality of the ſoul. Others, who could not reſolve to renounce a maxim, which God has impreſſed too deeply on the heart of man for him to be able to diſown it, found themſelves reduced to make them paſs from one body into another: and, as they could not conceive eternal puniſhments, they believed that they ſufficiently puniſhed the wicked, in confining them within the bodies of beaſts. And

from

from thence they fell into all the abſurdities with which they are juſtly reproached. But the other Sects ſcarce defended themſelves better from the abſurdities to which their different Syſtems gave birth.

Metam. l. 15. But to return to Pythagoras. In neceſſary conſequence of the Metempſychoſis he concluded, and one of the capital points of his moral doctrine was, that man committed a great crime, when he killed and eat animals; becauſe, all animals, of whatſoever kind they are, being animated with the ſame ſoul, it was an horrid cruelty to cut the throat of another ſelf. This is what Ovid, where he feigns that Pythagoras inſtructs king Numa in his maxims, wittily deſcribes after his manner in theſe three verſes:

*Heu! quantum ſcelus eſt in viſcera viſcera condi,*
*Congeſtoque avidum pingueſcere corpore corpus,*
*Alteriuſque animantem animantis vivere letho.*

But, obſerves again with abundance of wit the tranſlator already cited, what would Pythagoras have anſwered to a man who ſhould have aſked him conformably to his own principles: "What "injury do I do a fowl in killing it? I only make "it change its form, and it is much more likely "to gain than loſe by that change, Perhaps that "ſoul immediately after quitting its body, will go "to animate ſome embryo, who will one day be a "great monarch or philoſopher: and, inſtead of "ſeeing itſelf confined to a fowl, which uncharitable men leave in a yard to ſuffer the injuries "of the weather, and a thouſand other inconveniencies, it will find itſelf ſeated in an aſſemblage "of corpuſcles, that, forming the body, ſometimes "of an Epicure, ſometimes of a Cæſar, will glut "itſelf with pleaſures and honours."

The ſame philoſopher forbade his diſciples to eat beans; from whence Horace calls them the relations or allies of Pythagoras: *faba Pythagoræ cognata.*

Satyr. 6. l. 2.

Different

Different reaſons are given for this prohibition; amongſt others, that* beans, by the great wind they occaſion, excite vapours very contrary to the tranquillity of ſoul neceſſary to thoſe, who devote themſelves to inquiring after truth.

I ſhould never have done, if I undertook to relate circumſtantially all the wonders aſcribed to Pythagoras. If we may believe Porphyry, that declared enemy of Chriſtianity, and Iamblichus his diſciple, (for they are the worthy authorities for all theſe miracles) Pythagoras made even the beaſts underſtand and obey him. He commanded a bear that made great ravages in Daunia to be gone, and it diſappeared. He forbade an ox, after having whiſpered a word in his ear, to eat beans: and never more did he touch a bean. It is affirmed that he had been ſeen and heard at the ſame time diſputing in the public aſſemblies of two cities very remote from each other; the one in Italy, and the other in Sicily. He foretold earthquakes, appeaſed tempeſts, expelled peſtilence, and cured diſeaſes. His golden thigh ought not to be omitted. He ſhewed it to his diſciple Abaris, the prieſt of Apollo Hyperboreus, to prove to him that himſelf was that Apollo; and he had alſo ſhewn it, ſays Iamblichus, in a public aſſembly at Crotona. What wonders does not the ſame Iamblichus relate of this Abaris? Borne upon a dart as upon a Pegaſus, he could paſs a great way through the air in a ſhort time, without being ſtopt or retarded in his courſe by rivers, ſeas, or places inacceſſible to other men. Would one believe, that the miracles and cures aſcribed to Pythagoras could be quoted on the teſtimony of ſuch authors, as things of a real nature? *Credat Judæus Apella.* People of ſenſe, even amongſt the Pagans, openly laughed at them.

* Ex quo etiam Pythagoricis interdictum putatur, ne faba veſcerentur; quòd habet inflationem magnam is cibus, tranquillitati mentis quærentis vera contrariam. *Cic.* l. 1. *de Divinat.* n. 62.

It is time to make an end of his hiſtory. The circumſtances of his death are very differently related, which I ſhall not enter into particularly. Juſtin obſerves, that he died at Metapontum, whither he had retired after having continued twenty years at Crotona; and the people's admiration of him roſe ſo high, that they converted his houſe into a temple, and honoured him as a god. He lived to a very advanced age.

Juſtin. l. 20. c. 4.

## EMPEDOCLES.

A. M. 3560. EMPEDOCLES, a Pythagorean philoſopher, was of Agrigentum, a city of Sicily. He flouriſhed in the LXXXIVth Olympiad. He travelled much, as was the cuſtom of thoſe times, in order to inrich his mind with curious knowledge. On his return into his country, he frequented the ſchools of the Pythagoreans. Some make him Pythagoras's diſciple: but he is believed to have lived many years after him.

Diog. Laert. He applied himſelf not only to compoſing works, but reforming the manners of his country; and Empedocles ſpared no pains to do at Agrigentum what Pythagoras had done at Crotona. The city of Agrigentum was abandoned to luxury and debauch. Its inhabitants, according to Diogenes Laertius, amounted to eight hundred thouſand: which is to be underſtood of its territory as well as city. I have mentioned its power and riches elſewhere. Empedocles uſed to ſay that the people of Agrigentum abandoned themſelves to feaſting and pleaſure, as if they believed they were to die to-morrow; and applied themſelves in building, as if they thought they were never to die.

Diod. l. 13. p. 205. Nothing ſhews the luxury and effeminacy of the Agrigentines better, than the order given thoſe who were to defend the city in the night againſt the attacks of the Carthaginians. By this order each man was

was to have only one camel's ſkin, one tent bed, one woollen quilt, and two pillows. The Agrigentines thought this diſcipline highly ſevere, and could not be brought into ſubmitting to it without difficulty. Amongſt theſe citizens abandoned to luxury, there were however perſons of merit, who made a very good uſe of their riches, as I have ſhewn elſewhere.

The authority, which Empedocles had acquired at Agrigentum, he employed ſolely in making peace and good order take place as much as poſſible. The ſupreme command was offered him, which he tenaciouſly refuſed. His principal care was to put an end to the diviſions that prevailed amongſt the Agrigentines, and to perſuade them to conſider themſelves as all equals, and members of one and the ſame family. His next attention was to reform the inſolence of the principal perſons of the city, and to prevent the diſſipation of the public revenues. As to himſelf, he employed his own eſtate in marrying the young women that had no portions. Diog. Laert. Plut. adv. Col. p. 1126.

In order to eſtabliſh equality as much as poſſible amongſt the citizens of Agrigentum, he cauſed the Council, which conſiſted of a thouſand perſons choſen out of the richeſt citizens, to be aboliſhed. He rendered it triennial, from perpetual, as it was before; and prevailed that the people ſhould be admitted into it, or at leaſt ſuch of them as favoured democratical government. Diog. Laert.

When Empedocles went to the Olympic games, nothing was talked of there but him. His praiſes were the common ſubject of all converſations. It was an antient cuſtom to ſing the verſes of the great poets in public, as thoſe of Homer, Heſiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and others. The ſame honour was done to thoſe of Empedocles. The ſinger Cleomenes ſung his *Purifications* Καθαρμοί. Diog. Laert. Athen. l. 14. p. 620.

in the Olympic games. This was a moral poem of three thouſand hexameters, compoſed by our philoſopher upon the duties of civil life, the worſhip of the gods; and the precepts of morality. It took its name from containing maxims, which taught the means for purifying and improving the ſoul. The *golden verſes* are believed to have been part of this poem.

Carmen aureum.

Idem.

Empedocles was at the ſame time a philoſopher, poet, hiſtorian, phyſician, and even, according to ſome, magician. It is very probable that his magic was only the profound knowledge he had acquired in whatever was moſt abſtruſe in nature. The important ſervice he had done the people of Agrigentum, in making certain periodical winds ceaſe to blow, which by their pernicious nature did great damage to the fruits of the earth, was aſcribed to magic: as was alſo that he did for the inhabitants of Selinontum, in curing them of a peſtilence occaſioned by the ſtench of the waters of a river that ran through their city. His magic, as to the firſt, was his having filled up an opening of a mountain, from whence iſſued the infected exhalations, which a ſouth wind drove upon the territory of Agrigentum; and, as to the ſecond, it was his having cauſed two ſmall rivers to empty themſelves into that of Selinontum, which ſweetened the water, and removed its bad quality.

Laert.

The moſt wonderful effect of Empedocles's magic, and which made him be conſidered as a god, was the pretended reſurrection of an Agrigentine woman, named Panthea. Pliny ſpeaks of it as well as Origen. Hermippus, who contents himſelf with ſaying, that, having been given over by the phyſicians, and probably taken for dead, ſhe was cured by Empedocles, reduces that miracle to reality; and Galen ſeems to give into the ſame opinion.

L. 6. c. 52.

L. 2. cont. Celſ.

De locis affect. l. 6.

It

It is ſaid that Empedocles, * in order to confirm the world in the opinion they had conceived of his divinity by diſappearing ſuddenly, threw himſelf into the gulph of mount Ætna. But this extravagance has much the air of being the invention of ſuch as have pleaſed themſelves either with throwing the Marvellous into the lives of theſe philoſophers, or, on the contrary, with rendering them ridiculous. Authors of greater gravity tell us, that he retired into Peloponneſus, where he died at the age of ſixty, according to Ariſtotle, about the beginning of the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. Diog. Laert. A. M. 3576.

## ARTICLE. II.

*Diviſion of the Italic Sect into four ſects.*

THE Italic or Pythagorean ſect divided itſelf into four others; that of Heraclitus, which took his name; the Eleatic, of which Democritus was the chief; the Sceptic, founded by Pyrrho; and the Epicurean, inſtituted by Epicurus.

### SECT. I.

*Sect of Heraclitus.*

LITTLE is known of this philoſopher. He was a native of Epheſus, and lived in the LIXth Olympiad. He is ſaid to have had no maſters, and to have become learned by continual meditation. A. M. 3460. Laert.

Amongſt many treatiſes of his compoſing, that concerning nature, which included his whole philoſophy, was the moſt eſteemed. Darius, king of Perſia, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, having ſeen this work, wrote a moſt obliging Letter to Heraclitus, to de-

* ——— Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam
Inſiluit. *Horat. de Art. Poët.*

ſire him to come to his court, where his virtue and knowledge would be more conſidered than in Greece. The philoſopher, little affected with offers ſo gracious and ſo full of goodneſs, replied bluntly, That he ſaw nothing amongſt men but injuſtice, knavery, avarice, and ambition; and, that contenting himſelf with little, as he did, the court of Perſia ſuited ill with him. He was not in the wrong at bottom. It is not ſurpriſing, that a Greek, born free and an enemy to the pride of Barbarian kings, and the ſlavery and vices of courtiers, ſhould ſet an high value upon poverty with independence, and eſteem it infinitely more than the greateſt fortunes he could expect from a monarch living in the midſt of pomp, pride, effeminacy, and pleaſures, in a nation devoted ſolely to luxury. He might indeed have expreſſed his refuſal in more polite terms.

He was a true man-hater. Nothing ſatisfied him; every thing gave him offence. * Mankind were the objects of his pity. Seeing all the world abandoned themſelves to a joy, of the falſhood of which he was ſenſible, he never appeared in public without ſhedding tears, which occaſioned his being called *the Weeper*. Democritus, on the contrary, who ſaw nothing ſerious in the moſt ſerious occupations of men, could not forbear laughing at them. The one could find nothing in life but miſery, the other nothing but folly and trifle. Both in ſome ſenſe were in the right.

Heraclitus, diſguſted and tired with every thing, at laſt conceived ſo great an averſion for mankind, that he retired to a mountain, where he lived upon herbs in company with wild beaſts. A dropſy

* Heraclitus quoties prodierat, & tantum circa ſe malè viventium, imo malè pereuntium viderat, flebat, miſerebatur omnium, qui ſibi læti felicesque occurrebant. Democritum contrà aiunt numquam ſine riſu in publico fuiſſe; adeo nihil illi videbatur ſerium eorum quæ ſeriò agebantur. *Seneca de Ira*, l. 2. c. 10.

Huic omnia, quæ agimus, miſeriæ; illi ineptiæ videbantur. *De Tranq. anim.* c. 15.

which

which that kind of life occaſioned, obliged him to return to the city, where he died ſoon after.

## SECT. II.

### *Sect of Democritus.*

DEMOCRITUS, author of this ſect, one of the greateſt philoſophers of the antient world, was of Abdera in Thrace. Xerxes, king of Perſia, having lodged in the houſe of Democritus's father, left him ſome Magi, to be his ſon's preceptors, and to inſtruct him in their pretended Theology and Aſtronomy. He afterwards heard Leucippus, and learnt from him the ſyſtem of Atoms and Void. Laert.

His extraordinary inclination for the ſciences induced him to travel into all the countries of the world, where there were hopes of finding learned men. He viſited the prieſts of Egypt, the Chaldeans, and the Perſian philoſophers. It is even ſaid that he went as far as Ethiopia and India, to confer with the Gymnoſophiſts.

He *neglected the care of his eſtate, and left his lands uncultivated, in order to apply himſelf with leſs interruption to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Some go ſo far as to ſay, but with little probability, that he put out his eyes in hopes of meditating more profoundly, when the objects of ſight ſhould not divert the intellectual powers of his ſoul. It was in ſome meaſure blinding himſelf to ſhut himſelf up in a tomb, as it is ſaid he did, in order to apply more freely to meditation.

What ſeems moſt certain, is, that he expended his whole patrimony in his travels, which amounted Laert. Athen. l. 4. p. 168.

* Democritus, verè falsòve, dicitur oculis ſe privaſſe, ut quàm minimè animus à cogitationibus abduceretur. Patrimonium neglexit, agros deſeruit incultos, quid quærens aliud niſi beatam vitam? *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 87.

Miramur, ſi Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque, dum peregrè eſt animus ſine corpore velox.
*Horat.* Epiſt. 12. lib. 1.

to above an hundred talents (an hundred thouſand crowns.) At his return* he was cited before the judges, for having ſpent his eſtate in that manner. By the laws of his country, thoſe who had ſquandered their patrimony were not to be interred in the tombs of their family. He pleaded his cauſe himſelf, and produced, as a proof of the juſt uſe he had made of his fortune, the moſt finiſhed of his works, which he read to the Judges. They were ſo charmed with it, that they not only acquitted him, but cauſed as much money as he had expended in his travels, undoubtedly out of the public treaſury, to be repaid him, erected ſtatues in honour of him, and decreed that after his death the public ſhould charge itſelf with the care of his funeral: which was accordingly executed. He travelled as a great perſon, for the ſake of inſtruction, not to inrich himſelf. He went to the remoteſt parts of India in queſt of the riches of erudition, and ſcarce regarded the treaſures which he found almoſt at his door, in a country abounding with mines of gold and gems.

He * paſſed ſome time at Athens, the centre of the ſciences, and the abode of wit and learning. But, far from endeavouring to diſplay his merit and curious knowledge there, he affected to remain unknown: a circumſtance very remarkable in a man of learning and a philoſopher!

A fact ſingular enough is related concerning him, but with no other foundation than Hippocrates's letters, which the Learned believe ſpurious. The Abderites, ſeeing Democritus their countryman regard nothing, laugh at and ridicule every thing, ſay that the air was full of images, endeavour to know what the birds ſaid in their ſongs, and inhabit tombs almoſt perpetually, apprehended that his brain was

* Veni Athenas, inquit Democritus neque me quiſquam ibi agnovit. Conſtantem hominem & gravem, qui glorietur à gloria ſe abfuiſſe! *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 5. n. 104.

turned,

turned, and that he would entirely run mad, which they conſidered as the greateſt misfortune that could happen to their city. They therefore wrote to Hippocrates, to deſire him to viſit Democritus. The great concern they expreſſed for the health of ſo illuſtrious a citizen does them honour. The illuſtrious phyſician they had ſent for, after ſome converſations with the ſuppoſed ſick man, judged very differently of him, and diſpelled their fears, by declaring that he had never known a wiſer man, nor one more in his ſenſes. Diogenes Laertius alſo mentions this journey of Hippocrates to Abdera.

Nothing certain is ſaid either of his birth, or the time of his death. Diodorus Siculus makes him A. M. die at the age of ninety, the firſt year of the XCth 3584. Olympiad.

Democritus had a fine genius, with a vaſt, ex- Laert. tenſive, penetrating wit, which he applied to the whole circle of curious knowledge. Phyſics, ethics, mathematics, polite learning, liberal arts, all came within the ſphere of his activity.

It is ſaid, that, having foreſeen a certain year would prove bad for olives, he bought at a very low rate a great quantity of oil, by which he gained immenſely. * Every body was amazed with reaſon, that a man who had never ſeemed to regard any thing but ſtudy, and who had always ſet ſo much value upon poverty, ſhould on a ſudden throw himſelf into commerce, and entertain thoughts of amaſſing ſuch great riches. He ſoon explained the myſtery himſelf, in reſtoring to all the merchants of whom he had bought oil, and who were in deſpair on account of the bargain they had made with him, all the ſurplus he had acquired, contenting himſelf with ſhewing, that to become rich was

* Mirantibus qui paupertatem & quietem doctrinarum ei ſciebant in primis cordi eſſe. Atque, ut apparuit cauſa, & ingens divitiarum curſus, reſtituiſſe mercedem (*or rather* mercem) anxiæ & avidæ dominorum pœnitentiæ, contentum ita probaſſe, opes ſibi in facili, cùm vellet, fore. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 28.

at

at his own option. There is ſomething of a like nature in the hiſtory of Thales.

Epicurus is obliged to Democritus for almoſt his whole ſyſtem; and, to render* the elegant Latin expreſſion, he is the ſource from which the ſtreams that water the gardens of Epicurus flow. The latter was in the wrong, in not confeſſing his obligations to Democritus, and in treating him as a dreamer. We ſhall ſhew in the ſequel his opinions concerning the ſupreme good of man, the world, and the nature of the gods.

Laert. It was Democritus alſo that ſupplied the Sceptics with all they ſaid againſt the evidence of the ſenſes. For, beſides its being his cuſtom to ſay, that truth lay hid at the bottom of a well, he maintained that there was nothing real except atoms and vacuity, and that all elſe was only opinion and appearance.

Plato is ſaid to have been the declared enemy of Democritus. He had collected all his books with care, and was going to throw them into the fire, when two Pythagorean philoſophers repreſented, that doing ſo would ſignify nothing, becauſe they were then in the hands of many. Plato's hatred for Democritus appears in his having never cited him, even in places where to refute him was the queſtion, though he has mentioned almoſt all the reſt of the antient philoſophers.

## SECT. III.

### *Sceptic or Pyrrhonic ſect.*

PYRRHO, a native of Elis in Peloponneſus, was the diſciple of Anaxarchus, and accompanied him to India. It was undoubtedly in the train of Alexander the Great, from whence we may collect in what time he flouriſhed. He had prac-

* Democritus vir magnus in primis, cujus fontibus Epicurus hortulos ſuos irrigavit. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 121.

tiſed

tiſed the art of painting, before he applied himſelf to philoſophy.

His opinions differed little from thoſe of Arceſilaus, and terminated in the incomprehenſibility of all things. He found, in all things, reaſons for affirming, and reaſons for denying: and therefore he did aſſent after having well examined both ſides of a queſtion, concluding only that hitherto he ſaw nothing clear and certain in it, *non liquet*; and that the ſubject in queſtion required farther diſcuſſion. Accordingly he ſeemed during his whole life in queſt of truth; but he took care always to contrive ſubterfuges, to avoid conſenting that he had found it: That is to ſay, in reality he would not find it; and that he concealed ſo hideous a turn of mind under the ſpecious outſide of inquiry and examination.

Though he was not the inventor of this method of philoſophiſing, it however bears his name: the art of diſputing upon all things, without ever going farther than to ſuſpend one's judgment, is called *Pyrrhoniſm*. The diſciples of Pyrrho were called alſo *Sceptics*, from a Greek word which ſignifies *to conſider, to examine*; becauſe their whole application terminated in that. σκέπτομαι

Pyrrho's indifference is aſtoniſhing; and, if all Diogenes Laertius relates of it be true, it roſe even to madneſs. That hiſtorian ſays he did not prefer one thing to another; that a waggon or a precipice did not oblige him to go a ſtep out of his way; and that his friends who followed him often ſaved his life. However, he one day ran away from a dog that flew at him. When he was raillied upon a fear ſo contrary to his principles, and ſo unworthy of a philoſopher: *It is hard*, replied he, *to diveſt one's ſelf entirely of the man.* Laert. Ariſtocles apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 14. c. 18.

His maſter Anaxarchus having fallen into a ditch in his company, he walked on without ſo much as offering him his hand. Anaxarchus, far from taking Laert.

it

it amiſs, blamed thoſe who reproached Pyrrho with ſo inhuman a behaviour, and praiſed his diſciple for his indifference of mind, which argued his loving nothing. What would become of ſociety, and the commerce of life, with ſuch philoſophers?

Stobæus, ſermone 118. Pyrrho maintained that life and death were equally indifferent. *Why don't you die then?* ſomebody aſked him. *For that very reaſon*, replied he, *becauſe life and death are equally indifferent.*

Laert. He taught an abominable doctrine, that opens the way for crimes of every kind: That the honour and infamy, the juſtice and injuſtice of actions, depended ſolely upon human laws and cuſtom: in a word, that there was nothing honeſt or diſhoneſt, juſt or unjuſt, in itſelf.

Laert. His country conſidered him highly, conferred the dignity of Pontiff upon him, and granted all philoſophers an exemption from taxes upon his account: a very ſingular conduct in regard to a man who merited only puniſhments, whilſt they loaded him with honours.

## SECT. IV.

### *Epicurean ſect.*

Laert. EPICURUS, one of the greateſt philoſophers of his age, was born at Gargettium in Attica,

A. M. 3663. the third year of the CIXth Olympiad. His father Neocles, and his mother Chereſtrata, were of the number of the inhabitants of Attica ſent by the Athenians into the iſland of Samos. This occaſioned Epicurus's paſſing his infancy in that iſland.

Laert. He did not return to Athens till the eighteenth year of his age. It was not to fix there: for ſome years after he went to his father, who lived at Colophon; and afterwards reſided in different places.

A. M. 3699. He did not ſettle at Athens for good, till about the thirty-ſixth year of his age.

He

He there erected a ſchool in a fine garden which he had purchaſed. An incredible throng of hearers ſoon came thither from all parts of Greece, Aſia, and even Egypt. to receive his leſſons. If we may believe Torquatus, the warmeſt aſſertor of the Epicurean ſect, upon this head, the diſciples of Epicurus lived in common with their maſter in the moſt perfect friendſhip. Though throughout all antiquity, at leaſt for many ages, ſcarce three couple of true friends had appeared, * Epicurus had known how to unite great numbers of them in one houſe, and that a ſmall one. The philoſopher Numenius, who lived in the ſecond century, obſerves that, amidſt the diſcord and diviſions which prevailed amongſt each of the other ſects, the diſciples of Epicurus had continued in union down to his time. His ſchool was never divided, but always followed his doctrine like an oracle. His birth-day was celebrated in the time of Pliny the Naturaliſt, that is to ſay, above four hundred years after his death: they even feaſted the whole month in which he was born. His picture was to be ſeen every-where.

De Finib. l. 1. n. 65.

Euſeb. Præp. Evangel. l. 14. c. 5.

Plin. l. 34. c. 2.

Epicurus compoſed a great number of books, which are made to amount to above three hundred; and piqued himſelf upon quoting nothing, and deriving every thing from his own fund. Though none of them are come down to us, no philoſopher's opinions are better known than his. We are moſt indebted for them to the poet Lucretius, and Diogenes Laertius, not to mention Cicero in his philoſophical works. The learned Gaſſendi has collected with great exactneſs all that is to be found in antient writers concerning the doctrine and perſon of Epicurus.

He placed the Atomical ſyſtem in exceeding reputation. We ſhall ſee that he was not the inventor of it, but that he only changed ſome things in

* Epicurus una in domo, & ea quidam anguſta, quàm magnos, quantaque amoris conſpiratione conſentientes tenuit amicorum greges? *Cic.*

it,

it. His doctrine upon the ſupreme good of man, which he makes to conſiſt in pleaſure, contributed very much both to decry his ſect, and to make it gain ground: it will alſo be ſpoken of in the ſequel, as well as his opinions concerning the nature of the gods, providence, and deſtiny.

The praiſe given Epicurus by Lucretius, his faithful interpreter, ſhews what we ought to think of that philoſopher's ſyſtem. He repreſents him as the firſt of mortals who had the courage to riſe up againſt the prejudices that blinded the univerſe, and to ſhake off the yoke of religion, which till him had held mankind ſubjected to its empire; and that without being awed either by reſpect for the gods, their fame, their thunders, or any other motive:

*Humana ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret*
*In terris oppreſſa gravi ſub relligione——*
*Primùm Graius homo mortales tollere contrà*
*Eſt oculos auſus, primuſque obſiſtere contrà:*
*Quem nec fama deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti*
*Murmure compreſſit cœlum.*

Laert. Plut. in Demetr. p. 905.

Epicurus is praiſed for having never departed from his zeal for the good of his country. He did not quit it when beſieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and determined to ſhare in the miſeries it ſuffered. He lived upon beans, and gave his diſciples the ſame food. He deſired good ſovereigns, but ſubmitted to thoſe who governed ill. A maxim of great importance to the tranquillity of States. Tacitus expreſſes it in theſe terms: *Bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualeſcumque tolerare.* "To pray for "good Emperors, and ſuffer them, of whatſoever "kind they be."

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 8.

Epicurus died in the torments of a retention of urine, which he ſupported with extraordinary patience and conſtancy, the ſecond year of the CXXVIIth

CXXVIIth Olympiad, at the beginning of his seventy-second year. A. M. 3733.

*General reflection upon the several sects of philosophers.*

I have endeavoured to set the history of the different sects of the heathen philosophers in as clear a light as possible. Before I take my leave of that subject, and proceed to explain the various opinions of those sects, I think it incumbent on me to apprize the reader, that he would be deceived, if he expected any considerable change or reformation in the manners of men from the different instructions of all those philosophers. The wisdom, so much boasted by the most learned amongst the many sects into which the universe were divided, could determine no question, and multiplied errors. All human philosophy pretended to was to instruct men in living in a manner worthy of men; because it discovered in men no qualities but such as were human, and allotted to them only the enjoyment of human things. Its instructions are not useless in this point, as they at least dissuade men from the brutal life that dishonours the excellency of their nature, and makes them seek their happiness in the vilest part of their being, which is the body. But all the reformation they effect extends to very few things. What progress have the sects of philosophers made, though indued with so much eloquence, and supported with so much subtilty? Have they not left mankind where they found them, in the same perplexities, prejudices, and blindness?

And indeed how could they labour for the reformation of the human heart, as they neither knew wherein it was irregular, nor the source of its irregularity? Without the revelation of the sin of Adam, what could be known of man, and of his real state? Since his Fall he abounds with amazing contrarieties. He retains of his first origin characters of greatness and elevation, which his degradation *Mr. Du Guet. J. C. crucifié,*

Vol. I. c. 5. *d'après Mr. Paſchal.*

tion and meanneſs have not been able to extinguiſh. He wills, he aſpires at every thing. His deſire of glory, immortality, and an happineſs that includes all good, is infinite. A nothing employs him, a nothing afflicts or conſoles him. On a thouſand occaſions he is an infant; weak, fearful, and dejected; without mentioning his vices and paſſions, which diſhonour, debaſe, and ſometimes make him inferior to the beaſts of the field, to which he approaches nearer than to man by his unworthy inclinations.

*Principes de la Foi.* Vol. I. c. 9.

The ignorance of theſe two conditions threw the philoſophers into two equally abſurd extremes. The Stoics, who made an idol of their chimerical wiſdom, were for inſpiring man with ſentiments of pure and perfect greatneſs: which is not his condition. The Epicureans, who had degraded him by reducing him to mere matter, inculcated ſentiments of pure and abſolute meanneſs into him; and that is alſo as little his condition. Philoſophy was not capable of diſcerning things ſo near and at the ſame time ſo remote from each other: ſo near, becauſe united in the ſtate of humanity; and ſo remote, becauſe they belong by their nature to ſtates entirely different. A diſtinction of this kind was not made before JESUS CHRIST, or independently of JESUS CHRIST. Before him man neither knew, nor was capable of knowing himſelf. He either exalted or debaſed himſelf too much. His teachers always deceived him, either in flattering a pride it was neceſſary to depreſs, or augmenting a meanneſs it was neceſſary to exalt. Hence I comprehend how neceſſary revelation was to me, and how precious I ought to think the gift of the faith.

It is true the manner, in which the ſin of Adam extended down to me, is covered with obſcurities. But, from that very point wrapt up in darkneſs, iſſues the light which makes all clear, and diſpels all my difficulties. I am therefore far from refuſing

to

to believe one only thing, of which the belief is rewarded by the underſtanding of ſo many others: and chuſe rather to ſubmit my reaſon a ſingle article, which it does not comprehend, but which is revealed, than to make it fly out againſt an infinity of others it comprehends as little, and of which divine revelation neither forbids us the examination, nor removes the difficulties.

# PART THE SECOND.

## HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY.

### INTRODUCTION.

BY the hiſtory of philoſophy I underſtand the doctrines taught by each Sect of the antient philoſophers.

Philoſophy, amongſt the antients, conſiſted of three parts: Dialectics or Logic, which directs the operations of the mind, and the formation of argument; Phyſics (that included alſo metaphyſics) which conſiders the ſtructure of the world, the effects of nature, the exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity, and the nature of the ſoul; and laſtly Ethics, which lays down morals, and treats of the duties of life.

This is an ample ſubject, and the reader muſt not expect that I ſhould treat it to the bottom. I have already declared more than once, that I do not write for the learned. Stoics, Peripatetic, and Epicureans are frequently mentioned in books and converſation. I thought it proper therefore to give the generality, and perſons of no great reading, ſome knowledge of the principal queſtions diſcuſſed by thoſe philoſophers, but without entering into an

exact detail of their diſputes, which are often very knotty and diſagreeable.

Before I proceed to my ſubject, I cannot help obſerving the wonderful taſte that prevailed amongſt the moſt conſiderable perſons for all the ſciences, and in particular for the ſtudy of philoſophy. I do not ſpeak only of the Greeks. We have ſeen how much the famous ſages of Greece were eſteemed in the court of Crœſus; the value Pericles ſet upon, and the uſe he made of, the leſſons of Anaxarchus; what paſſion the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Athens had for the converſation of Socrates; in what a manner Dion, notwithſtanding the allurements of a court abandoned to pleaſure, devoted himſelf to Plato; with what a taſte even for the moſt abſtracted knowledge Ariſtotle inſpired his pupil Alexander the Great; and laſtly, how highly Pythagoras and his diſciples were conſidered by the princes of that part of Italy called Great Greece.

The Romans did not give place in this reſpect to the Greeks, from the time that learning and the polite arts were introduced amongſt them. Paulus Æmilius, after the conqueſt of Macedonia, thought one of the moſt grateful fruits of his victory the having brought a philoſopher from Greece to Rome, to inſtruct his children who were then in the army, and to converſe with himſelf at his leiſure hours. Scipio Africanus, * who deſtroyed Carthage and Numantia, thoſe formidable rivals of Rome, in the † midſt of the moſt important affairs both of war and peace, knew how to procure himſelf moments of repoſe and retirement, for enjoying the

* Africanus duos terrores imperii Romani, Carthaginem Numantiamque deleverat. *Pro Mur.* n. 58.

† *Ille, requieſcens à reip. pulcherrimis muneribus, otium ſibi ſumebat aliquando, & à cœtu hominum frequentiaque interdum, tanquam in portum ſe in ſolitudinem recipiebat. De offic.* l. 3. n. 2.

*Scipio tam elegans liberalium ſtudiorum omniſque doctrinæ & auctor & admirator fuit, ut Polybium Panætiumque, præcellentes ingenio viros, domi militiæque ſemper ſecum habuerit. Vell. Paterc.* l. 1. c. 13.

con-

converſation of Polybius and the philoſopher Panætius, whom he had always along with him. Lælius, that model of virtue, more worthy of reſpect for his mild wiſdom than his dignities, the intimate friend of Scipio, ſhared with him in the pleaſure of thoſe learned and agreeable converſations. The * friendſhip of thoſe two great men for Panætius roſe to a great degree of familiarity, and Cicero ſays the philoſopher highly deſerved it. What honours did not Pompey render Poſidonius, going expreſsly to Rhodes, on his return from his glorious campaigns againſt Mithridates, to ſee and hear that philoſopher! † Lucullus, even whilſt in the field, where a General has ſcarce time to breathe, found moments of leiſure however for gratifying his taſte for polite learning, and in particular for philoſophy, and to hear the philoſopher Antiochus, who was the companion of all his expeditions.

The Abbé Gedoyn, in reſpect to a letter of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, obſerves upon the uſe which the great men of the Roman commonwealth made of their leiſure. The excellent education of the Romans, ſays he, made them learned almoſt from their infancy. They were perfectly inſtructed in their own and the Greek tongues: to learn thoſe two living languages coſt them little. They were inſpired very early with a taſte for the moſt excellent writers. That taſte, inſtilled ſo ſoon into their infant minds, grew ſtrong with years, and inclined them to cultivate the ſociety of learned men, whoſe converſation might ſupply the place of reading, of which their employments deprived them. Thence it followed that the Romans, whoſe

*Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Let-tres.* Tom. V. p. 126.

* Homo inprimis ingenuus & gravis, dignus illa familiaritate Scipionis & Lælii, Panætius. *De Finib.* l. 4. n. 23.

† Majore ſtudio Lucullus cùm omni literarum generi, tum philoſophiæ deditus fuit, quàm qui illum ignorabant arbitrabantur. Nec verò ineunte ætate ſolùm, ſed & quæſtor aliquot annos, & in ipſo bello, in quo ita magna rei militaris eſſe occupatio ſolet, ut non multùm imperatori ſub ipſis pellibus otio relinquatur——Antiochum ſecum habuit. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 4.

minds were all improved by Letters, lived together in a continual commerce of erudition. And what muſt have been the converſation of a great number of Romans, when they happened to meet in the ſame company! Hortenſius, Cicero, Cotta, Cæſar, Pompey, Cato, Brutus, Atticus, Catullus, Lucullus, Varro, and many others!

But never did any one carry the taſte and ardour, eſpecially for philoſophy, higher than Cicero. It is not eaſy to conceive how a man, ſo much taken up as he was between the affairs of the bar and thoſe of the ſtate, could find time to make himſelf maſter, as he had done, of all the queſtions diſcuſſed in his days amongſt the philoſophers. That time, as he tells us himſelf in reſpect to polite learning, was what others beſtowed on walking, pleaſure, the public ſhews, and gaming, and which he employed either in his cloſet, or in familiar converſation with friends of the ſame taſte as himſelf. * He was convinced that ſuch ſtudies and recreation perfectly ſuited ſenators and ſtateſmen, when they did not interfere with what they owed the public. Were it better, ſays he, that their meetings were in ſome meaſure paſſed in ſilence, or turned upon trifles and inſignificant matters?

Pro Arch. poet. n. 13.

The philoſophical books he has left us, which are not the leaſt eſtimable part of his works, ſhew how far he had carried his application in that way. Without ſpeaking of all the reſt, he lays down excellent rules in them for thoſe who write upon controverted ſubjects, and who undertake to refute

* Si quodam in libro verè eſt à nobis philoſophia laudata, profectò ejus tractatio optimo atque ampliſſimo quoque digniſſima eſt: nec quidquam aliud videndum eſt nobis, quos populus Romanus hoc in gradu collocavit, niſi ne quid privatis ſtudiis de operâ publicâ detrahamus.——Quaſi verò clarorum virorum aut tacitos congreſſus eſſe oporteat, aut ludicros ſermones, aut rerum colloquia leviorum. *Academ. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 6.

their

their adverſaries. * He is for engaging in diſputes only from the love of truth, without prejudice, and without deſire either of diſplaying one's wit, or of carrying one's point. He baniſhes all paſſion, anger, heat, inſult, and reproaches from them. † *We are*, ſays he ſpeaking of himſelf, *ready to refute our adverſaries without tenaciouſneſs in error, and to be refuted by them without reſentment.*

How amiable is this character! How beautiful is it to ſeek in diſputes, not to overcome our opponents, but ſolely to make truth triumphant! What advantage would not ſelf-love itſelf, if it were allowable to hearken to it, find in ſuch a conduct, to which it is not poſſible to refuſe one's eſteem, which adds new force to argument, which, whilſt it gains the heart, prepares the mind for conviction, and by politeneſs and modeſty ſpares the mortifying confeſſion of being miſtaken, the ſecret pain, with which, through a vicious ſhame, it is almoſt always attended. When will this taſte for ſtudy, and this moderation in diſputes, revive amongſt us?

We muſt however own for the honour of our times, that we have perſons of extraordinary merit, who diſtinguiſh themſelves particularly by theſe two qualities. I ſhall only mention the Preſident Bouhier in this place. His learned remarks upon the text of ſeveral of Cicero's books would alone ſuffice to ſhew the great extent of that illuſtrious magiſtrate's knowledge. The Abbé Olivet, in his preface to the new edition of the Tuſculan Queſtions, tranſlated partly by the Preſident Bouhier, and

* Ego, ſi oſtentatione aliqua inductus, aut ſtudio certandi, ad hanc potiſſimùm philoſophiam me applicavi, non modo ſtultitiam meam, ſed etiam mores & naturam contemnendam puto. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 65.

Diſſerentium inter ſe reprehenſiones non ſunt vituperandæ. Maledicta, contumeliæ, tum iracundiæ, contentiones, concertationeſque in diſputando pertinaces, indignæ mihi philoſophia videri ſolent. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 27.

† Nos & refellere ſine pertinacia, & refelli ſine iracundia parati ſumus. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. 2. n. 5.

partly by himſelf, with a ſucceſs that does equal honour to them both, ſays very well; "Perhaps "the example of a man of his rank and merit "may revive the taſte for critical learning in "France: a taſte ſo common heretofore, that the "celebrated Lambinus, when he devoted his la-"bours to Cicero, was aſſiſted by the greateſt per-"ſons of his times. For, to make a tranſient "obſervation, the liſt which he has left us of them, "and which may be ſeen at the end of his preface, "proves, that this ſame Cicero, who in our days "is baniſhed into the colleges, was two hundred "years ago the delight of all the moſt conſiderable "perſons either of the bar or church."

But I admire the character of modeſty and wiſdom, which prevail in the writings of the P. Bouhier, ſtill more than his vaſt erudition. Mr. Davies had made ſome obſervations in England upon the ſame text of Cicero as himſelf. *The career of us both*, ſays the magiſtrate, *in this kind of literary amuſement, does not reſemble thoſe in which rivals ought only to aſpire at the honour of overcoming. The true glory of critics conſiſts in ſeeking the truth, and in doing juſtice to thoſe who have found it. I am therefore charmed with doing it to the learned Engliſhman.* He even thanks him for ſetting him right in reſpect to certain miſtakes. What a difference there is between ſo moderate and rational a diſpoſition, and the warmth of thoſe authors who are ſo jealous of their reputation, as not to be able to ſuffer the ſlighteſt criticiſm!

To return to my ſubject. The diviſion of philoſophy into three parts, logic, ethics, and phyſics, ſupplies me with what I am to follow in the enſuing brief account of them.

CHAP-

## CHAPTER I.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon logic.*

DIALECTICS, or Logic, is the ſcience that lays down rules to direct the operations of the mind in inquiries after the true, and * to teach us to diſcern it from the falſe. I have obſerved with ſufficient extent, in the fourth volume of my treatiſe upon the ſtudy of polite learning, of what advantage this part of philoſophy was, and the uſe to be made of it.

Ariſtotle, among the antients, is the moſt excellent author of logic. Beſides ſeveral other works, we have his four books *De analyſi*, wherein he lays down all the principles of reaſoning. "This "genius, ſays Rapin the Jeſuit in his compariſon "of Ariſtotle and Plato, ſo replete of reaſon and "underſtanding, fathoms the abyſs of the human "mind in ſuch a manner, that he penetrates into "all its ſprings by the exact diſtinction he makes "of its operations. The vaſt fund of the thoughts "of man had not before been ſounded, in order "to know its depth. Ariſtotle was the firſt who "diſcovered this new method for attaining know-"ledge by the evidence of demonſtration, and for "proceeding geometrically to demonſtration by the "infallibility of ſyllogiſm, the moſt accompliſhed "work, the greateſt effort of human wit."

This is a praiſe, to which nothing can well be added: and indeed Ariſtotle cannot be denied the glory of having carried the force of reaſoning very far, and of having traced out the rules and prin-

* Dialectica veri & falſi diſceptatrix & judex. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 91.

ciples of it with abundance of ſubtilty and diſcernment.

* Cicero ſeems to acknowledge this philoſopher the author and inventor of logic: he aſcribes that honour himſelf to Zeno of Elæa, according to Diogenes Laertius. Hence it is believed that Zeno was the firſt who diſcovered the natural ſeries and dependence of principles and conſequences, of which he formed an art, that till then had nothing fixed and regular. But Ariſtotle, without doubt, roſe exceedingly upon him.

In Zenon.

† This ſtudy was the principal occupation of the Stoics, who acknowledged another Zeno for their founder. They piqued themſelves upon excelling in this kind of philoſophy. And indeed their manner of reaſoning was warm, vigorous, cloſe, and proper to dazzle and perplex their opponents; but obſcure, dry, and void of all ornament, often degenerating into minuteneſs, ſophiſm, and captious ‡ wreſted arguments, to uſe Cicero's term.

Though the queſtion, Whether there be any thing certain in our knowledge, ought to be conſidered only as preliminary to logic, it was however made the principal object of it, and what the philoſophers diſputed with moſt warmth. Their difference of opinion upon this ſubject conſiſted in its being believed by ſome, that it was poſſible to know and to judge with certainty; and on the contrary by others, that nothing could be certainly known, nor conſequently affirmed, as poſitive.

Acad. Quæſt. n. 15.

Socrates's manner of diſputing might have made way for this latter method of philoſophiſing. Every body knows that he never expreſſed his opinion, that he contented himſelf with refuting that of others without affirming any thing poſitively, and

* Ariſtoteles utriuſque partis dialecticæ princeps. *Topic. n.* 6.

† Stoicorum in dialecticis omnis cura conſumitur. *Brut. n.* 118.

‡ Contortulis quibuſdam ac minutis concluſiunculis —— effici volunt non eſſe malum dolorem. *Tuſc. l.* 2. *n.* 42.

that

that he declared he only knew that he knew nothing; and it was, even for this, he believed that he deſerved the praiſe given him by Apollo, of being the wiſeſt of mankind. Many think that Plato followed the ſame method, but authors do not agree about it.

But it is certain, that the two moſt celebrated of Plato's diſciples, Speuſippus, his nephew, and Ariſtotle, who formed two famous ſchools, the firſt that of the Academics, the other that of the Peripatetics, abandoned Socrates's cuſtom of never ſpeaking but with doubt, and of affirming nothing. Reducing the manner of treating queſtions to certain rules and a certain method, they compoſed, of thoſe rules and method, an art, a ſcience known, under the name of the dialectics, or logic, which makes one of the three parts of philoſophy. Though theſe two ſchools had a different name, they had at bottom the ſame principles with ſome very little difference, and are generally confounded under the name of the antient academy. Acad. Quæſt. n. 171.

The opinion of the antient academy was, that, though our knowledge has its origin in the ſenſes, the ſenſes do not judge of truth, but the mind, which alone deſerves to be believed, becauſe the mind alone ſees things as they really are in themſelves, that is to ſay, it ſees what Plato calls the ideas, which always ſubſiſt in the ſame ſtate, without ſuffering any change.

Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, who was of Citium, a ſmall town of Cyprus, granted ſomething more to the evidence of the ſenſes, * which he pretended to be certain and clear, but under certain conditions, that is, if they were perfect and in good health, and without any obſtacle to prevent their effect. Acad. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 30.

* Ita tamen maxima eſt in ſenſibus veritas, ſi & ſani ſunt & valentes, & omnia removentur quæ obſtant & impediunt. *Lib.* 4. *n.* 19.

Epicurus

Epicurus went ſtill farther. He gave ſo great a certainty to the evidence of the ſenſes, that he * conſidered them as an infallible rule of truth: ſo that by his doctrine objects are preciſely what they appear: that the ſun, for inſtance, and the fixed ſtars, had really no greater magnitude than they ſeem to have to our eyes. He admitted another means of diſcerning truth, that is, the ideas we have of things, without which we can neither form any queſtion, nor paſs any judgment: *Antecepta animo quædam informatio, ſine qua nec intelligi quicquam, nec quæri, nec diſputari poteſt.*

Lib. de nat. deor. n. 43.

Zeno made uſe of the ſame principle, and inſiſted particularly upon the clear, evident, and certain ideas, which we naturally have of certain principles relating to morals and the conduct of life. "† The good man, ſays he, is determined to ſuffer "every thing, and to periſh in the moſt cruel tor- "ments, rather than depart from his duty, and "betray his country. I aſk why he impoſes upon "himſelf a law ſo cruel, and ſo contrary in ap- "pearance to his intereſts, and whether it be poſ- "ſible for him to take ſuch a reſolution, if he had "not a clear and diſtinct idea in his mind of juſ- "tice and fidelity, which evidently ſhew him, that "he ought to expoſe himſelf to every kind of in- "fliction, rather than act what is contrary to juſ- "tice and fidelity."

This argument, which Zeno founds upon the certainty of clear and evident ideas, ſhews the falſhood of the principle generally received in the ſchool of the

* Epicurus omnes ſenſus veri nuncios dixit eſſe. *Lib.* 1. *de nat. deor. n.* 70.

† Quæro etiam, ille vir bonus, qui ſtatuit omnem cruciatum perferre, intolerabili dolore lacerari potiùs, quam aut officium prodat aut fidem, cur has ſibi tam graves leges impoſuerit, cum, quamobrem ita oporteret, nihil haberet comprehenſi, percepti, cogniti, conſtituti? Nullo igitur modo fieri poteſt, ut quiſquam tanti æſtimet æquitatem & fidem, ut ejus conſervandæ cauſa nullum ſupplicium recuſet, niſi iis rebus aſſenſus ſit, quæ falſæ eſſe non poſſunt. *Acad. Quæſt. l.* 4. *n.* 23.

Peripatetics,

Peripatetics, *That all our ideas are derived from our ſenſes.* For, as the logic of Port-Royal obſerves, there is nothing that we conceive more diſtinctly than our thought itſelf, nor any propoſition more clear than this, *I think, therefore I am.* Now we could have no certainty of this propoſition, if we did not conceive diſtinctly what it is *to be*, and what it is *to think.* And we muſt not be aſked to explain thoſe terms, becauſe they are of the number of thoſe which are ſo well underſtood by all the world, that endeavouring to explain them would render them obſcure. If it cannot be denied, that we have in us the ideas of being and thinking, I would know by which of the ſenſes they entered into our minds. It muſt then be admitted that they do not in any manner derive their origin from the ſenſes.

Nihil eſt in intellectu, quod non priùs fuerit in ſenſu.

* Zeno ſhewed alſo the falſhood and ridicule of the opinion of the Academics by another reflection. In the ordinary conduct of life, ſaid he, it is impoſſible to make any choice, or determine upon any thing, without firſt having a fixed and certain principle in the mind, to determine us to chuſe one thing rather than another: For without that we ſhould continue always in uncertainty and inaction.

The followers of the antient academy, and the Stoics, agreed therefore with each other, as both maintained, though upon different principles, that there were certain means for knowing truth, and conſequently evident and certain knowledge.

Arceſilaus roſe up with great vivacity againſt this opinion, confining himſelf particularly to oppoſing Zeno; and formed a ſect, which was called the Middle academy, and ſubſiſted down to Carneades, the fourth ſucceſſor of Arceſilaus, who founded the

Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 44.

* Si, quid officii ſui ſit, non occurrit animo, nihil unquam omnino aget, ad nullam rem unquam impelletur, nunquam movebitur. Quod ſi aliquid aliquando acturus eſt, neceſſe eſt id ei verum, quod occurrit, videri. *Ibid. n.* 24.

ſect

ſect called the New Academy. As it deviated only in ſome ſmall alterations from the Middle one, they are confounded with each other, and both included in the name of *the New Academy*. This ſect was in great reputation. Cicero embraced it openly, and declared himſelf its defender.

Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 44. If we may believe him, it was neither through obſtinacy, nor the frivolous deſire of overcoming, that Arceſilaus attacked Zeno, but through the obſcurity of all knowledge, which had obliged Socrates, as well as Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and almoſt all the antient philoſophers, to confeſs their ignorance, and to agree, that there was nothing to be known, nothing determined with certainty, not even what Socrates had excepted in ſaying, *I know only one thing, which is, that I know nothing.*

The main point in diſpute between Zeno and Arceſilaus was the evidence of the ſenſes. Zeno affirmed, that truth might be certainly known by
Ibid. n. 66, &c. their aid: Arceſilaus denied it. The latter's principal reaſon was, that there is no certain mark to diſtinguiſh falſe and deluſive objects from ſuch as are not ſo. There are ſome, which either are, or appear ſo perfectly like each other, that it is impoſſible to diſcern the difference. Hence, in judging and affirming any thing of them, one is liable to err, and to take the true for the falſe, and the falſe for the true, which is entirely unworthy of a wiſe man. * Conſequently, to act with prudence, he ought to ſuſpend his judgment, and decide nothing. And this was what Arceſilaus did: for he paſſed whole days in diſputing with others, and in refuting their opinions, without ever expreſſing his own.

* Ex his illa neceſſariò nata eſt ἐποχή, id eſt, aſſenſionis retentio. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 4. n. 59.

The

The Academics, by his example, acted ever after in the ſame manner. We have ſeen that Carneades, when he went to Rome with two other deputies, ſpoke one day for, and the next againſt, juſtice, with equal force and eloquence. * They pretended, that the end of theſe diſcourſes, wherein they maintained both ſides of a queſtion, was, by ſuch inquiries, to diſcover ſomething true, or at leaſt that came near the truth. The only difference, ſaid they, between us, and thoſe who believe they know ſomething, is, that thoſe other philoſophers boldly advance what they maintain for true and inconteſtable, and we have the modeſty to affirm our poſitions only as probable and like truth. They added, that their doctrine was accuſed, without foundation, of reducing mankind to inaction, and of oppoſing the duties of life; as probability and the likeneſs to truth ſufficed to determine their choice of one thing rather than another. We have an excellent treatiſe of Cicero's intitled *Lucullus*, which is reckoned as the fourth book of the Academic Queſtions; wherein Cicero makes Lucullus defend the opinion of the antient academy, That there are things which a man is capable of knowing and comprehending; and for himſelf he maintains the contrary opinion, which is that of the new academy, That man's knowledge extends no farther than appearances, and that he can have none but probable opinions. Lucullus, in concluding his diſſertation, which is of conſiderable length and very eloquent, apoſtrophiſes in theſe terms to Cicero: "Is it poſſible, after the magnificent praiſes "you have given philoſophy, that you can em- "brace a ſect which confounds the true with the "falſe, which deprives us of the uſe of reaſon and

Academ. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 108, &c.

Ibid. l. 4. n. 61, 62.

* Neque noſtræ diſputationes quidquam aliud agunt, niſi ut, *in* utramque partem dicendo & audiendo eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum ſit, aut ad id quàm proximè accedat. *Lib.* 4. *n.* 7, 8.

"judgment,

" judgment, which forbids us to approve any " thing, and diveſts us of all our ſenſes? The " Cimmerians themſelves, who are ſaid never to " ſee the ſun, have ſome fires, ſome twilight, to " illuminate them. But the philoſophers, for " whom you declare, in the midſt of the profound " darkneſs with which they ſurround us, leave us " no ſpark of light to guide us. They keep us " hampered in chains, which will not ſuffer us to " make the leaſt motion. For, to conclude, to " forbid us, as they do, to give our conſent to " any thing whatſoever, is actually to deprive us " entirely of the uſe of our minds, and at the " ſame time to prohibit us all manner of action." It were hard to refute the doctrine of the new academy better, which really ſeems to degrade man, confining him to a ſtate of abſolute ignorance, and in leaving nothing to guide him but doubt and uncertainty.

Father Mallebranche, in his inquiry after truth, lays down with great extent an excellent principle concerning the ſenſes. It is, that the ſenſes were given us by God, not to inable us to know the nature of objects, but their relation to us; not what they are in themſelves, but whether they are advantageous or hurtful to our bodies. This principle is highly luminous, and deſtroys all the little gloſſes and chicane of the antient philoſophers. As to objects in themſelves, we know them by the ideas we have of them.

*Logic of Port-Royal.* Part IV. c. 1.

I have ſaid that the new Academics contented themſelves with denying certainty, and admitting probability. The ſect of Pyrrho, which was a branch that ſprung from the Academics, even denied that probability, and pretended, that every thing was equally obſcure and uncertain.

But the truth is, that all theſe opinions, which have made ſo much noiſe in the world, never ſubſiſted except in diſcourſe, diſputation, or writing, whilſt

whilſt nobody ever was ſeriouſly convinced by them. They were the diverſions and amuſements of perſons of wit and leiſure: but they were never opinions by which thoſe perſons were inwardly much affected, and conſequently willing to direct their conduct. They pretended that ſleeping could not be diſtinguiſhed from waking, nor madneſs from reaſon: but, notwithſtanding all their arguments, could they doubt whether they ſlept, or whether they were in their ſenſes? But, if there had been any body capable of theſe doubts, at leaſt no man could doubt whether he is, whether he thinks, or whether he lives. For, whether he ſleeps or wakes, whether he is in or out of his ſenſes, whether he does, or does not err, it is at leaſt certain, becauſe he thinks, that he is and that he lives; it being impoſſible to ſeparate being and life from thought, and to believe that what thinks is not, and does not live.

CHAP-

## CHAPTER II.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning Ethics, or morality.*

MORAL philoſophy or ETHICS, whoſe object is the regulation of manners, is, properly ſpeaking, the ſcience of man. All other knowledge is in ſome meaſure external and without him, or at leaſt may be ſaid not to extend to what is more immediately perſonal and himſelf, I mean the heart: for it is in that the whole man conſiſts, and is what he is. They may render him more learned, more eloquent, more juſt in his reaſonings, more knowing in the myſteries of nature, more fit to command armies, and to govern ſtates: but they neither make him better, nor wiſer. Theſe however are the only things that concern him nearly, in which he is perſonally intereſted, and without which all the reſt ought to appear next to perfectly indifferent.

It was this induced Socrates to believe, that the regulation of manners was to be preferred to all other ſciences. Before him the philoſophers almoſt wholly devoted themſelves to inquiring into the ſecrets of nature, to meaſuring the extent of lands and ſeas, and in ſtudying the courſe of the ſtars. * He was the firſt † that placed Ethics in honour, and, to uſe the terms of Cicero, brought philoſophy down from heaven ‡ into cities, intro-

* A Socrate omnis, quæ eſt de vita & moribus, philoſophia manavit. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 3. n. 8.

† *The more antient philoſophers, and eſpecially Pythagoras, had given their diſciples good precepts of morality, but did not make them their principal doctrine like Socrates.*

‡ Socrates primus philoſophiam devocavit è cœlo, & in urbibus collocavit, & in domos etiam introduxit, & coegit de vita & moribus, rebuſque bonis & malis quærere. *Ibid.* l. 5. n. 10.

duced

duced her alſo into houſes, and familiariſed her with individuals, in obliging her to give them precepts upon the manners and conduct of life.

She did not confine herſelf to the care of particulars. The government of ſtates was always the principal object of the reflections of the moſt celebrated philoſophers. Ariſtotle and Plato have left us ſeveral tracts of great extent upon this ſubject, which have always been highly eſteemed, and contain excellent principles. This part of moral philoſophy is called *Politics*. I ſhall not treat it ſeparately in this place; and ſhall content myſelf in the ſequel, where I ſhall ſpeak of duties, with making ſome extracts from Plato and Cicero, which will ſhew what noble ideas they had of the manner of governing ſtates.

Moral philoſophy ought to inſtruct mankind principally in two things. It ought, in the firſt place, to teach them in what that ſupreme good, *or happineſs*, conſiſts, at which they all aſpire; then to ſhew them the virtues and duties, by which they may attain it. It is not to be expected that Paganiſm ſhould lay down the pureſt and moſt perfect maxims upon matters of ſuch importance. We ſhall find a mixture of light and darkneſs in it, which will amaze us, and is at the ſame time highly capable of inſtructing us.

I ſhall add a ſhort diſcourſe upon civil law to my account of Ethics, or moral philoſophy.

## ARTICLE I.

### *Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the ſupreme good, or happineſs, of man.*

IN all moral philoſophy there is not a more important ſubject, than that which relates to the Supreme Good of man. Many queſtions are diſcuſſed in the ſchools indifferent enough with reſpect to the generality of men, and in which they might

diſpenſe with inſtructing themſelves, without any great detriment to the manners and conduct of life. * But the ignorance of what conſtitutes his ſupreme good leads man into infinite error, and occaſions his walking always by chance, without having any thing fixed and determinate, and without knowing either where he goes, or what paths he ought to take: whereas, that principle once well eſtabliſhed, he knows all his duties clearly, and to what he is to adhere in every thing elſe.

† Philoſophers are not the only perſons that take pains to inquire wherein this ſupreme good conſiſts; but all men, the learned, the ignorant, the wiſe, the ſtupid: there is nobody that does not ſhare in this important queſtion. And, though the head ſhould continue indifferent about it, the heart could not avoid making its choice. It raiſes this ſecret cry of itſelf in regard to ſome object: Happy is he who poſſeſſes that!

Man has the idea and deſire of a ſupreme good implanted in his nature: and that idea and deſire are the ſource of all his other deſires, and of all his actions. Since his Fall, he retains only a confuſed and general notion of it, which is inſeparable from his being. He cannot avoid loving and purſuing this good, which he knows only confuſedly: but he knows not where it is, nor wherein it conſiſts, and the purſuit of it precipitates him into an infinity of errors. For, finding created good things which ſatisfy ſome ſmall part of that infinite avidity which engroſſes him, he takes them for the ſupreme good, directs all his actions to them, and thereby falls into innumerable crimes and errors.

* Summum bonum ſi ignoretur, vivendi rationem ignorari neceſſe eſt. Ex quo tantus error conſequitur, ut, quem in portum ſe recipiant, ſcire non poſſint. Cognitis autem rerum finibus, cùm intelligitur quid ſit & bonorum extremum & malorum, inventa vitæ via eſt, conformatioque omnium officiorum.—Hoc conſtituto, in philoſophia, conſtituta ſunt omnia. *De Finib. bon & mal.* l. 5. n. 15.

† Omnis auctoritas philoſophiæ conſiſtit in beata vita comparanda. Beatè enim vivendi cupiditate incenſi omnes ſumus. *Ibid.* n. 86.

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This we ſhall ſee evidently in the different opinions of the philoſophers upon this head. Cicero has treated it with abundance of extent and erudition in his five books *De Finibus bonorum & malorum*; in which he examines wherein real good and evil conſiſt. I ſhall confine myſelf to the plan he has followed, and ſhall relate after him what the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics, the three moſt celebrated ſects of philoſophy, thought upon this ſubject.

The two laſt will from time to time afford us excellent maxims upon different ſubjects, but often mixed with falſe principles and groſs errors. We are not to expect to find any thing inſtructive in them concerning future good. Human philoſophy does not exalt man above himſelf, but confines him to the earth. Though many of the philoſophers were convinced of the immortality of the ſoul, and in conſequence that this life is but a moment in reſpect to the eternal duration of our ſouls, they have however devoted their whole ſtudy and attention to this life of a moment. What was to happen hereafter, in the other, was only the ſubject of ſome barren converſations, from which they deduced no conſequence either for their own conduct, or that of others. Thus theſe pretended ſages, who knew all things except themſelves, and to what every particular thing was deſtined except man, may be juſtly conſidered as ignorant and ſenſeleſs. For not to know what one is, and whither one goes; to be ignorant of one's end, and of the means for attaining it; to be learned in what is ſuperfluous and foreign, and blind to what is perſonal and neceſſary, is certainly to be void of ſenſe.

## SECT. I.

### *Opinions of Epicurus concerning the ſupreme good.*

THE name alone of Epicurus ſuffices to inform us, that in the preſent queſtion * we are not to expect to be inſpired by him with noble and generous ſentiments.

De Finib. l. 1. n. 29, 30. According to all the philoſophers, That is called the ſupreme Good, upon which all other Good depends, and which depends itſelf upon no other. Epicurus makes this ſupreme Good conſiſt in pleaſure, and, by neceſſary conſequence, ſupreme Evil in pain. Nature herſelf, ſays he, teaches us this truth, and prompts us from our birth to purſue whatever gives us pleaſure as our ſupreme good, and to avoid whatever gives us pain as our ſupreme evil. There is no more occaſion for ſtudied arguments to eſtabliſh this truth, than there is to prove that fire is hot, ſnow white, and honey ſweet: which are ſelf-evident. Let us ſuppoſe, on one ſide, a man enjoying the greateſt pleaſures both of body and mind, without fear of their being interrupted; and on the other, a man ſuffering the ſharpeſt pains, without any hope of relief: can we doubt on which ſide to place ſupreme good and ſupreme evil?

De Finib. l. 2. n. 93. Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 44, 45. As it does not depend upon man to exempt himſelf from pain, Epicurus oppoſes that inconveniency with a remedy founded upon a reaſoning, which he believes very perſuaſive. *If pain be great*, ſays he, *it will be ſhort; if long, it will be ſlight.* As if a diſeaſe did not often happen to be at the ſame time both long and painful, and reaſoning had any power over the ſenſe of feeling.

Id. l. 3. n. 33, &c. He propoſed another remedy of no greater efficacy, againſt the ſharpneſs of pain; which was, to divert the mind from the evils we ſuffer, by turn-

* Epicurus, in conſtitutione finis, nihil generoſum ſapit atque magnificum. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 23.

ing

ing our whole attention upon the pleaſures we have formerly enjoyed, and upon thoſe we are in hopes of taſting hereafter. *How! might one reply to him, whilſt the violence of pain racks, burns, and agoniſes me, without a moment's intermiſſion, do you bid me forget and diſregard it? Is it in my power then to diſſemble, and forget in that manner? Can I ſtifle and ſilence the voice of nature at ſuch a time?

When he was obliged to give up all theſe falſe and wretched reaſonings, he had no other evaſion than to admit, that his wiſe man might be ſenſible of pain, but that he would perſiſt in believing himſelf happy during it; and to this he adhered. Cicero tells us, that, whilſt he talks in this manner, he found it ſcarce poſſible to forbear laughing. If the ſage be tortured, if he be burnt, (one would imagine Epicurus was going to ſay, that he would bear it with conſtancy, and not ſink under it: but that is not enough for him, he goes ſtill farther) If the† ſage were in the burning bull of Phalaris, he would cry out with joy: *How grateful is this! How little I value it!* It is ſurpriſing to hear ſuch words from the idolater of voluptuouſneſs, the man who makes ſupreme good conſiſt in pleaſure, and ſupreme evil in pain. ‡But we are ſtill more ſurpriſed when we ſee Epicurus ſuſtain this generous character to the laſt, and to hear him, in the midſt of the acuteſt pangs of the ſtone, and the exceſſive torments of the moſt terrible cholic, cry out: *I* Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 2. n. 17.

* Non eſt in noſtra poteſtate, fodicantibus iis rebus quas malas eſſe opinemur diſſimulatio vel oblivio. Lacerant, vexant, ſtimulos admovent, ignes adhibent, reſpirare non ſinunt; & tu obliviſci jubes, quod contra naturam eſt? *Cicer.*

† In Phalaridis tauro ſi erit, dicet: *Quàm ſuave eſt hoc! Quàm hoc non curo!* Cicer.

‡ Quid porro? Non æquè incredibile videtur, aliquem in ſummis cruciatibus poſitum, dicere: *Beatus ſum?* Atqui hæc vox in ipſa officina voluptatis eſt audita: *Beatiſſimum*, inquit, *hunc & ultimum diem ago*, Epicurus; cùm illum hinc urinæ difficultas torqueret, hinc inſanabilis exulcerati dolor ventris. *Senec.* Epiſt. 92.

*am happy. This is the laſt and the moſt fortunate day of my life.*

Cicero aſks, how it is poſſible to reconcile Epicurus with himſelf? * As for him, who does not deny pain to be pain, he does not carry the virtue of the wiſeman to ſo high a pitch. "To me it "is enough, ſays he, if he ſupports evils with "patience. I do not require that he ſhould ſuffer "them with joy. For undoubtedly pain is a ſad, "ſharp, bitter thing, contrary to nature, and ex"ceedingly hard to undergo." This is thinking and ſpeaking reaſonably. The language of Epicurus is that of pride and vanity, which ſeeks to exhibit itſelf as a ſight, and, whilſt it diſplays a falſe courage, proves a real weakneſs.

For the reſt, theſe abſurd conſequences of Epicurus, were inevitably neceſſary conſequences of his erroneous principles. For, if the wiſeman muſt be happy as long as he is wiſe, pain, not depriving him of his wiſdom, cannot deprive him of his happineſs. Thus he is reduced to affirm himſelf happy in the midſt of the moſt exquiſite torments.

It muſt be owned, that Epicurus has maxims and even actions aſcribed to him, which are dazling and ſurpriſing, and which give a quite different idea of his perſon and doctrine to what is generally formed of them. And from hence many learned and celebrated perſons have taken upon them his defence, and wrote his apology.

He declares loudly, ſays Cicero †, that one cannot live joyouſly, except with wiſdom, honeſty,

* Tullius dolorem, dolorem eſſe non negat—Ego, inquit, tantam vim non tribuo ſapientiæ contra dolorem. Sit fortis in perferendo, officio ſatis eſt: ut lætetur etiam, non poſtulo. Triſtis enim res eſt ſine dubio, aſpera, amara, inimica naturæ, ad patiendum tolerandumque difficilis. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.* l. 2. n. 33. & 18.

† Clamat Epicurus, non poſſe jucundè vivi, niſi ſapienter, honeſtè, juſtèque vivatur: nec ſapienter, honeſtè, juſtè, niſi jucundè. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 57.

and

and juſtice; and that one cannot live with wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice, otherwiſe than joyouſly. What does not ſuch a principle include!

Upon moral ſubjects, and rules of duty, he advances maxims no leſs noble and ſevere.

Seneca repeats many of his ſayings, which are certainly very laudable: *I was never ſtudious of pleaſing the people: for what I know the multitude do not approve, and what the multitude do approve I don't know.* Senec. Ep. 29.

Inſtead of the whole people * Epicurus ſubſtitutes ſome man of great virtue and reputation, whom he is for having us ſet perpetually before our eyes, as our guardian and inſpector, in order to our acting in all things, as if he were the eye-witneſs and judge of our actions. And, indeed, it were to retrench the greateſt part of one's faults, to give them a witneſs one reſpects: of whom the authority and idea only would make our moſt ſecret actions more prudent and blameleſs. Id. Epiſt. 11.

† If you would make Pythocles truly rich, ſaid Epicurus, you muſt add nothing to his eſtate, but only retrench his deſires and appetites.

I ſhould never have done, ſhould I repeat his many other maxims of morality equally juſt. Does Socrates himſelf talk better than Epicurus? And ſome pretend that his life ſuited his doctrine.

Though the gardens of Epicurus had this inſcription, *Pleaſure is here the ſupreme good*, the maſter of them, though very courteous and polite, received his gueſts with bread and water. Id. Epiſt. 21.

* Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus eſt, ac ſemper ante oculos habendus, ut ſic tanquam illo ſpectante vivamus, & omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus. Hoc, mi Lucili, Epicurus præcepit, cuſtodem nobis & pædagogum dedit: nec immeritò. Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, ſi peccaturis teſtis adſiſtat. Aliquem habeat animus, quem vereatur, cujus auctoritate etiam ſecretum ſuum ſanctius faciat.

† Si vis, inquit, Pythoclea, divitem facere, non pecuniæ adjiciendum, ſed cupiditatibus detrahendum. *Senec.* Ep. 21.

Senec. Ep. 18. Himſelf, this teacher of voluptuouſneſs, had certain days, when he ſatisfied his hunger with great ſobriety. He ſays in a letter, that he did not ſpend quite an *as*, that is, a penny, upon a meal; and that Metrodorus, his companion, who was not ſo old, ſpent an whole *as*.

We have ſeen with what courage he ſuffered the ſharpeſt and moſt cruel pains in his laſt moments. What can be ſaid of theſe facts, and many of the like nature? for many ſuch are related of him.

What ſhall we ſay alſo, on the other ſide, of facts in great number directly the reverſe, and his being reproached with abandoning himſelf to drunkenneſs and the moſt ſhameful debauches, as Diogenes Laertius informs us?

Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 46, 47. But Cicero cuts the queſtion ſhort in one word, and reduces it to a ſingle point: "Do you believe, "ſays ſomebody to him, that Epicurus was the "man ſome are for having him paſs for, and "that his deſign was to inculcate irregularity and "debauch? No, replies Cicero: for I find he "alſo advances very fine maxims, and moſt ſevere "morality. But here, not his life and manners, "but his doctrine and opinions are the queſtion. "Now he explains himſelf upon what he under-"ſtands by pleaſure and happineſs in a manner by "no means obſcure. * *I underſtand by that word,* "ſays Epicurus, *the pleaſures of the taſte, the plea-"ſures of love, the view of ſuch objects as delight the eye,* "*diverſions and muſic.* Do I add to his words? Have "I annexed any thing falſe to them? If ſo, pray cor-"rect me; for I have no view but to clear up the "truth."

De Finib. l. 2. n. 7. The ſame † Epicurus declares, *He cannot ſo much*

* Non verbo ſolùm poſuit voluptatem, ſed explanavit quid diceret. *Saporem*, inquit, *& corporum complexum, & ludos, atque cantus, & formas has quibus oculi jucundè moveantur.*

† Teſtificatur, ne intelligere quidem ſe poſſe, ubi ſit aut quid ſit ullum bonum, præter illud, quod cibo, aut potione, & aurium delectatione, & obſcœna voluptate capiatur. *De Finib.* l. 2. n. 7.

*as conceive that there is any other good, except what conſiſts in drinking, eating, harmonious ſounds that delight the ear, and obſcene pleaſures.* Are not theſe his own terms, ſays Cicero? *An hæc ab eo non dicuntur?* De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 111.

If we ſuppoſe that he maintained ſuch a maxim, what regard is to be had for his fineſt diſcourſes elſewhere upon virtue and purity of manners? The ſame judgment was paſſed on them as on the books he wrote upon the Divinity. People were convinced, that in reality he believed there were no gods. He however ſpoke of the veneration due to them in the moſt magnificent terms, in order to ſcreen his real ſentiments and perſon, and to avoid drawing the Athenians upon him. He had the ſame intereſt in covering ſo ſhocking a doctrine, as that which makes the ſupreme good conſiſt in voluptuouſneſs. Ibid. l. 1. n. 116 and 123.

Torquatus urged extremely in favour of Epicurus, whoſe doctrine he defended, the paſſage where that philoſopher ſaid, that, without wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice, it was impoſſible to lead an happy life: *non poſſe jucundè vivi, niſi honeſtè, & ſapienter, & juſtè vivatur.* Cicero does not ſuffer himſelf to be dazzled by an empty glitter of words, with which Epicurus took pains to cover the turpitude of his maxims. He proves at large that wiſdom, honeſty, and juſtice, were irreconcileable with pleaſure, in the ſenſe that Epicurus gives it, which is a diſgrace to philoſophy, and a diſhonour to nature itſelf. He aſks Torquatus, if, when he ſhould be elected conſul, which was ſoon to happen, he would venture, in his ſpeech to the people or ſenate, to declare, that he entered upon office fully reſolved to propoſe to himſelf no other view or end in all his actions but voluptuouſneſs? And wherefore would he not venture it, except becauſe he well knows that ſuch language is infamous? De Finib. l. 2. n. 51. &c. Ibid. n. 74.

I ſhall conclude this article with a fine contraſt made here by Cicero. On the one ſide he repreſents Ibid. l. 2. n. 63, 64.

ſents L. Thorius Balbus Lanuvinus, one of thoſe men ſo expert and delicate in voluptuouſneſs, that make it their buſineſs and merit to refine upon every thing which bears the name of pleaſure: who, void of all chagrin for the preſent, and all uneaſineſs about the future, did not abandon himſelf brutally to the exceſſes of eating and drinking, nor to other groſs diverſions; but, attentive to his health and certain rules of decency, led an eaſy life of ſoftneſs and delight, entertained a company of choſen friends every day at his houſe, had his table always covered with the fineſt and moſt exquiſite diſhes, denied himſelf nothing that could flatter his ſenſes agreeably, nor any of thoſe pleaſures, without which Epicurus did not conceive how the ſupreme good could ſubſiſt; in a word, who was induſtrious in culling every-where, to uſe the expreſſion, the quinteſſence of joy and delight, and whoſe roſy complexion argued the extraordinary fund of health and good plight which he enjoyed. This is the man, ſays Cicero, addreſſing himſelf to Torquatus, who, according to your eſtimate, is ſupremely happy.

* I am afraid to name the perſon I deſign to oppoſe to him; but virtue itſelf will do it for me: it is M. Regulus, who, of his own accord, with no other force than his word given the enemy, returned from Rome to Carthage, where he knew what torments were prepared for him, and where he was actually put to death by hunger and being kept perpetually awake. It is in thoſe very torments that

* Ego, huic quem anteponam, non audeo dicere: dicet pro me ipſa virtus. nec dubitabit iſti veſtro beato M. Regulum anteponere. Quem quidem, cùm ſua voluntate, nulla vi coactus præter fidem quàm dederat hoſti, ex patria Carthaginem revertiſſet, tum ipſum, cum vigiliis & fame cruciaretur, clamat virtus beatiorem fuiſſe, quàm patantem in roſa Thorium. Bella magna geſſerat, bis conſul fuerat, triumpharat: nec tamen ſua illa ſuperiora tam magna nec tam præclara ducebat, quàm illum ultimum caſum, quem propter fidem conſtantiamque ſuſceperat; qui nobis miſerabilis videtur audientibus, illi perpetienti erat voluptarius. *De Finib.* l. 2.

virtue

virtue itſelf loudly declares him infinitely more happy than your Thorius on his bed of roſes, and wallowing in voluptuouſneſs. Regulus had commanded in great wars, had been twice conſul, and received the honour of a triumph: but he deemed all thoſe advantages nothing in compariſon with this laſt event of his life, which his fidelity to his word and his conſtancy had drawn upon him: an event, of which the mere repetition afflicts and frightens us, though the reality was matter of joy and pleaſure to Regulus.

Put but a Chriſtian ſuffering for the truth in the place of Regulus, and nothing can be more concluſive than Cicero's reaſoning. Without which it is only refuting one abſurdity by another, and oppoſing a falſe idea of happineſs to an infamous happineſs.

## SECT. II.

### *Opinions of the Stoics concerning the ſupreme good.*

WE now quit the ſchool of leaſt repute amongſt the antient philoſophers for its doctrine and manners, but which however had abundance of authority, and whoſe dogma's were almoſt univerſally followed in practice, the attraction of pleaſure being far more efficacious than the fineſt reaſonings. We now proceed to another ſchool much extolled by the Pagan world, from which it derived abundance of honour, and in which it pretended that virtue was taught and practiſed in all its purity and perfection. It is plain that I ſpeak of the Stoics.

It was a common principle with all the philoſophers, that the ſupreme good conſiſted in living according to nature: *ſecundum naturam vivere, ſummum bonum eſſe.* The different manner in which they explained this conformity to nature occaſioned the diverſity of their opinions. Epicurus placed it in pleaſure: others in exemption from pain: and ſome in other objects. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, made

De Finib. l. 4. n. 14.

made it conſiſt ſolely in virtue. According to him, to live according to nature, in which alone happineſs conſiſts, is to live honeſtly and virtuouſly. Behold what nature inſpires, to what ſhe inclines us, honeſty, *decency*, and virtue: and ſhe inſpires us at the ſame time with a ſupreme horror for all that is contrary to honeſty, *decency*, and virtue.

* This truth is evidently ſeen in children, in whom we admire candour, ſimplicity, tenderneſs, gratitude, compaſſion, purity, and ignorance of all evil and artifice. From whence do they derive ſuch excellent virtues, if not from nature herſelf, who paints and ſhews herſelf in infants as in a mirror? In a more advanced † age, who can forget the Man ſo much as to refuſe his eſteem to wiſe, ſober, and modeſt youth: and with what eye on the contrary do we look on young perſons abandoned to vice and depravity? When we read in hiſtory, on one ſide, of goodneſs, generoſity, clemency, and, gratitude; and on the other, of violence, injuſtice, ingratitude, and cruelty: however remote in time we are from the perſons ſpoken of, are we maſters of our opinions, can we forbear loving the one and deteſting the other? Obſerve, ſays Zeno, the voice of nature, which cries aloud, that there is no real good but virtue, no real evil but vice.

The Stoics could not reaſon either more juſtly or with apter conſequence in their principles, which were however the ſource of their errors and miſ-

* Id indicant pueri, in quibus, ut in ſpeculis, natura cernitur.—Quæ memoria eſt in his bene merentium! quæ referendæ gratiæ cupiditas! Atque ea in optima quaque indole maximè apparent. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 61.

† In iis vero ætatibus quæ jam confirmatæ ſunt, quis eſt tam diſſimili homini, qui non moveatur & offenſione turpitudinis, & comprobatione honeſtatis? Quis eſt qui non oderit libidinoſam, protervam adoleſcentiam? Quis contra in illa ætate pudorem, conſtantiam, etiamſi ſua nihil interſit, non tamen diligat?—Cui Tubuli nomen odio non eſt? Quis Ariſtidem mortuum non diligit? An obliviſcamur, quantopere in audiendo legendoque moveamur, cùm piè, cùm amicè, cum magno animo aliquid factum cognoſcimus? *Ibid.* n. 62.

tales.

takes. On the one ſide, convinced that man is made for happineſs, as the ultimate end to which he is deſtined; and on the other, confining the whole being and duration of man to this life, and finding nothing, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, more great, more eſtimable, and more worthy of a man than virtue; it is not to be wondered that they ſhould place man's ultimate end and happineſs in it? As they had no knowledge either of another life, or of the promiſes of eternity, they could not do better in the narrow ſphere wherein they confined themſelves through the ignorance of revelation. They roſe as high as it was poſſible for them to riſe. They were under the neceſſity of taking the means for the end, the way thither for being there. For want of knowing better, they took nature for their guide: They applied themſelves to the conſideration of it, by what it has of great and ſublime, whilſt the Epicurean conſidered it only by what it has of earthly, animal, and corrupt. Hence they neceſſarily made man's happineſs to conſiſt in virtue.

As to what regards health, riches, reputation, and the like advantages; or diſeaſes, poverty, ignominy, and the other inconveniencies of this kind; Zeno did not place them in the number either of goods or evils, nor make the happineſs or miſery of mankind depend upon them. He therefore maintained, that virtue alone and of itſelf ſufficed to their happineſs; and that all the wiſe, in whatſoever condition they might happen to be, were happy. He however ſet ſome, though ſmall, value upon thoſe external goods and evils, which he defined in a manner different, as to the terms, from that of other philoſophers, but which at bottom came very near the ſame opinions.

We may judge of all the reſt by a ſingle example. The other philoſophers conſidered pain as a real

De Finib. l. 3. n. 43-45.

* Virtutis tantam vim eſſe, ut ad beatè vivendum ſe ipſa contenta ſit.—Sapientes omnes eſſe ſemper beatos. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 77.

real and ſolid evil, which extremely incommoded the wiſe man, but which he endeavoured to ſupport with patience; which did not hinder him from being happy, but rendered his happineſs leſs complete. Hence, according to them, a good action, exempt from pain, was preferable to one united with it. The Stoics believed, that ſuch an opinion degraded and diſhonoured virtue, to which all external goods joined together added no more than the ſtars to the luſtre of the ſun, a drop of water to the vaſt extent of the ocean, or a mite to the innumerable millions of Crœſus; to uſe their own compariſons. A wiſe Stoic therefore reckoned pain as nothing, and, however violent it might be, he was very far from calling it an evil.

Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3. n. 61.

Pompey, in his return from Syria, paſſed expreſsly by the way of Rhodes to ſee the celebrated Stoic Poſidonius. When he arrived at the houſe of that philoſopher, he forbade his lictor to ſtrike the door with his wand, as was the cuſtom. * The perſon, ſays Pliny, to whoſe power the Eaſt and Weſt were in ſubjection, was pleaſed that the *faſces* of his lictor ſhould pay homage to the dwelling of a philoſopher. He found him in bed very ill of the gout, which tormented him cruelly. He expreſſed his concern to ſee him in that condition, and that he could not hear him as he had promiſed himſelf. That, replied the philoſopher, depends upon yourſelf; it ſhall never be ſaid that my illneſs occaſioned ſo great a perſon to come to my houſe in vain.

He then began a long and grave diſcourſe, wherein he undertook to prove, that there was nothing good but what was honeſt † And, as he was in ex-

* Pompeius, confecto Mithridatico bello, intraturus Poſidonii ſapientiæ profeſſione clari domum, fores percuti de more à lictore vetuit; & faſces lictorios januæ ſubmiſit is, cui ſe Oriens Occidenſque ſubmiſerat. *Plin.* l. 7. c. 30.

† Cumque ei quaſi faces doloris admoverentur, ſæpe dixit: *Nihil agis, dolor; quamvis ſis moleſtus, unquam te eſſe confitebor malum.*

ceſſive

ceſſive pain all over whilſt he ſpoke, he often repeated: *Pain, you do nothing; though you are troubleſome, you ſhall never make me own you an evil.*

Another Stoic was of a better faith. This was Dionyſius of Heraclea, Zeno's diſciple, whoſe doctrine he had long and warmly maintained. * In the torments of the ſtone, which made him cry out terribly, he diſcovered the falſhood of all he had taught in reſpect to pain. *I have devoted many years,* ſaid he, *to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and cannot bear pain. Pain is therefore an evil.* Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 60.

It is not neceſſary to aſk the reader's judgment of theſe two philoſophers. The character of theſe falſe ſages of the Pagan world is painted in the moſt lively colours, in the words and actions of the firſt. They exhibited themſelves as ſpectacles, and fed themſelves up with the attention of others, and the admiration which they believed they occaſioned. They bore up againſt their inward ſenſe through the ſhame of appearing weak, whilſt they concealed their real deſpair under the appearance of a falſe tranquillity.

It muſt be confeſſed that pain is the moſt dreadful proof of virtue. It plunges its ſharpneſs into the inmoſt ſoul: it racks, it torments it, without its being poſſible to ſuſpend the ſenſe of it: it keeps it in ſpite of it employed by a ſecret and deep wound, that engroſſes its whole attention, and renders time inſupportable to it, whilſt every inſtant ſeems whole years. In vain does human philoſophy endeavour, in this condition, to make her wiſe man appear invulnerable and inſenſible: ſhe only blows him up with vain preſumption, and fills him with a force, which is indeed but cruelty. True Religion does not inſtruct her diſciples in this manner. She does not diſguiſe virtue under fine but chime-

* Cùm ex renibus laboraret, ipſo in ejulatu clamitabat, falſa eſſe illa, quæ antea de dolore ipſe ſenſiſſet.—*Plurimos annos in philoſophia conſumpſi, nec ferre poſſum (dolorem) malum eſt igitur dolor.*

rical

rical appearances. She raiſes mankind to a ſtate of real greatneſs; but that is by making them diſcern and confeſs their own weakneſs.

Let us hear Job, the man put to the rudeſt trial that ever was. He was told by meſſenger after meſſenger, almoſt without any interval, that his flocks and herds were deſtroyed, his ſlaves killed or taken, and at laſt that all his children were cruſhed to death and buried under the ruins of an houſe where they were eating together. In the midſt of ſo many heavy unforeſeen ſtrokes, ſo ſuddenly reiterated, and ſo capable of ſhaking a ſoul of the greateſt fortitude, no complaint eſcaped him. Solely intent upon the duty of that precious moment, he ſubmits to the decrees of providence: *Naked came I into the world, and naked ſhall I go out of it: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* He ſhews the ſame ſubmiſſion and conſtancy after Satan had ſtruck him with biles all over his body, and ulcers to his very marrow, whilſt he ſuffers the moſt acute pains.

Does Job, in this condition, exhibit himſelf as a ſight, or ſeek to attract admirers by a vain oſtentation of courage? He is far from it. He confeſſes that his fleſh is weak, and himſelf nothing but weakneſs. He does not diſpute ſtrength with God, and owns that of himſelf he has neither ſtrength, counſel, nor reſource. *Is my ſtrength the ſtrength of ſtones, or is my fleſh of braſs? Is there help in me? And is not wiſdom driven quite from me?* This is not the language of Pagan philoſophy, which is nothing but pride and vanity.

Job vi. 12, 13.

The Stoics made their ſage a man abſolutely perfect and void of paſſion, trouble, and defect. It was a vice with them to give the leaſt ſenſe of pity and compaſſion entrance into the heart. They deemed it the ſign of a weak and even bad mind: *Miſeratio eſt vitium puſilli animi, ad ſpeciem alienorum malorum*

Senec. de Clement. l. 2. c. 5.

*malorum ſuccidentis: itaque peſſimo cuique familiariſſima eſt.* *Compaſſion, continues the ſame Seneca, is a trouble and ſadneſs of the mind, occaſioned by the miſeries of others: now the wiſe man is ſuſceptible neither of trouble nor ſadneſs. His ſoul enjoys always a calm ſerenity, which no cloud can ever diſcompoſe. How can he be moved with the miſeries of others, as he is not moved with his own?

The Stoics reaſoned in this manner, becauſe they did not know what man is. They deſtroyed nature, whilſt they pretended to reform it. They reduced their ſage to an idol of braſs or marble, in hopes to render him firm and conſtant in his own misfortunes and thoſe of others. For they were for having him equally inſenſible in both, and that compaſſion ſhould not make him conſider that as a misfortune in his neighbour, which he ought to regard as indifferent in reſpect to himſelf. They did not know, that the ſentiments they ſtrove to extinguiſh, were part of the nature of man, and that to root out of his heart the compaſſion, tenderneſs, and warm concern with which nature itſelf inſpires us for what happens to our neighbour, was to deſtroy all the ties of human and civil ſociety.

The chimerical idea which they formed of the ſupreme perfection of their wiſe man, was the ſource from whence flowed the ridiculous opinion they laid down, that all faults were equal. I have ſhewn the abſurdity of that maxim elſewhere.

They maintained another no leſs abſurd, but much more dangerous, and which was a conſequence of their opinion upon what conſtituted the ſupreme good of man; a juſt and ſolid opinion in ſome ſenſe, but from which they made a bad in-

* Miſericordia eſt ægritudo animi, ob alienarum miſeriarum ſpeciem. Ægritudo autem in ſapientem virum non cadit. Serena ejus mens eſt, nec quidquam incidere poteſt quod illam obducat.—Hoc ſapienti ne in ſuis quidem accidet calamitatibus, ſed omnem fortunæ iram reverberabit, & ante ſe franget.

ference. They * pretended, that the ſupreme good of man ought not to be made to conſiſt in any of thoſe things of which he is capable of being diveſted againſt his will, and which are not in his power; but in virtue alone, which depends ſolely upon himſelf, and of which no foreign violence can deprive him. It was very clear, that mankind could neither procure for themſelves, nor preſerve health, riches, and the other advantages of that nature: accordingly they implored the gods for the attainment and preſervation of them. Theſe advantages therefore could not compoſe part of the ſupreme good. Virtue alone had that privilege, becauſe man is abſolutely maſter of that, and derives it ſolely from himſelf. He gives it to himſelf, according to them; he preſerves it himſelf, and has no occaſion to have recourſe to the gods for that, as for other good things. *Hoc quidem omnes mortales ſic habent, externas commoditates——à diis ſe habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam accepti tulit retulit.* Never, ſaid they, did any man take it into his head to thank the gods, that he was a good man, as he thanks them for riches, honours, and the health he enjoys. *Num quis, quòd bonus vir eſſet, gratias diis egit unquam? at quòd dives, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis.* In a word, it is the opinion of all men, that we ought to aſk God for the goods of fortune, but, as to wiſdom, we derive that only from ourſelves. *Judicium hoc omnium mortalium eſt, fortunam à deo petendam, à ſe ipſo ſumendam eſſe ſapientiam.*

De nat. deor. l. 3. n. 86—88.

They carried their frantic pride ſo high as to ſet † their ſage in this view above God; becauſe God is virtuous and exempt from paſſion by the

* Hoc dabitis, ut opinor, ſi modo ſit aliquid eſſe beatum, id oportere totum poni in poteſtate ſapientis. Nam ſi amitti vita beata poteſt, beata eſſe non poteſt. *De Finib.* l. 2. n. 86.

† Eſt aliquid quo ſapiens antecedat Deum. Ille naturæ beneficio non timet, ſuo ſapiens. *Senec.* Epiſt. 53.

neceſſity

neceſſity of his nature, whereas their wiſe man is ſo by his own choice and will.

I ſhall not ſtop here to obſerve to the reader, from what I have now ſaid, and what preceded it, into what abſurdities the moſt eſteemed and reſpected ſect amongſt the antients, and indeed in ſome ſenſe the moſt worthy of eſteem and reſpect, gave into. Behold what human wiſdom is capable of, when abandoned to its own ſtrength and lights, or rather its own impotence and darkneſs!

It remains for me to relate the opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the ſupreme good of man.

## SECT. III.

*Opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the ſupreme good.*

IF we may believe Cicero upon this head, the difference between the Stoics and the Peripatetics, upon the queſtion of the ſupreme good, conſiſts leſs in things than words, and that the opinions of both amounted to the ſame ſenſe at bottom. He often reproaches the Stoics with having introduced rather a new language, than new doctrines, into philoſophy, that they might ſeem to vary from thoſe who had preceded them; which reproach appears to have ſufficient foundation.

Both the one and the other agreed as to the principle, upon which the ſupreme good of man ought to be founded, that is, to live according, or conformably, to nature: *Secundùm naturam vivere.* The Peripatetics began by examining what the nature of man is, in order to laying down their principle well. Man, ſay they, is compoſed of body and ſoul: ſuch is his nature. To render him perfectly happy, it is neceſſary to procure him all the goods both of the body and the ſoul: that is, to live according to nature, in which both ſects agree the ſupreme good conſiſts. In conſequence they reckoned health, riches, reputation, and the other advantages of that kind, in

the number of goods; and, in that of evils, ſickneſs, poverty, ignominy, &c. leaving however an infinite diſtance between virtue and all other goods, and vice and all other evils. * Theſe goods which we place amongſt thoſe of the body, ſaid they, make the felicity of man perfect, and render his life completely happy; but in ſuch a manner that he is capable of being happy, though not ſo entirely, without them.

The Stoics thought very near the ſame, and gave theſe advantages and inconveniencies of the body ſome weight, but they could not bear that they ſhould be called goods and evils. If once, ſaid they, pain were to be admitted an evil, it would follow, that the wiſe man, when in pain, is not happy: for felicity is incompatible with a life wherein there is any evil. People do not reaſon ſo, replied the Peripatetics, in any other reſpect. An eſtate covered with fine corn in abundance does not ceaſe to be deemed fertile, becauſe it produces ſome few bad weeds. Some ſmall loſſes, with conſiderable gains, do not hinder commerce from being reckoned very advantageous. In every thing, the more outweighs the leſs, and is the rule of judging. It is thus in reſpect to virtue. † Put it into one ſcale, and the whole world into the other, virtue will always be infinitely the moſt weighty: a magnificent idea of virtue this!

De Finib. l. 5. n. 91, 92.

I ſhould think it abuſing the reader's patience, if I beſtowed more time in refuting theſe ſubtleties and bad chicane of the Stoics. I only deſire him to remember what I have obſerved from the beginning, that, in this queſtion concerning the ſupreme good of man, the philoſophers, of whatever ſect they were, conſidered that good only in reſpect to this life. The goods of eternity were either unknown, or indifferent to them.

* Illa, quæ ſunt à nobis bona corporis numerata, complent eo quidem beatiſſimam vitam, ſed ita, ut ſine illis poſſit beata vita exiſtere. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 71.

† Audebo——virtutis amplitudinem quaſi in altera libræ lance ponere. Terram, mihi crede, ea lanx & maria deprimet.

ARTICLE

## ARTICLE II.

*Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the virtues and duties of life.*

"THOUGH philoſophy, ſays Cicero, be a "region wherein there are no uncultivated "lands, and though it is fertile and abundant from "one end to the other, there is no part of it richer "than that which treats of the duties of life, "and lays down rules and precepts for giving our "manners a certain and conſtant tenor, and making "us live according to the laws of reaſon and vir-"tue." It is true that excellent maxims, and ſuch as might make us bluſh, are to be found upon this head amongſt the Pagans. I ſhall repeat ſome of them from Plato and Cicero, confining myſelf more to the thoughts than expreſſions of the former. Offic. l. 3. n. 5.

*The end of government is to make the governed happy, in making them virtuous.*

The firſt care of every man charged with the government of others, (which includes all perſons in general, whoſe function it is to command, kings, princes, generals, miniſters, governors of provinces, magiſtrates, judges, and fathers of families:) the firſt care I ſay of whoever is in any kind of authority, is to lay down well the end he ought to propoſe to himſelf in the uſe of that authority. Plat. de Leg. l. 12. p. 961, 963.

What is the end of a man charged with the government of a ſtate? It is not, ſays Plato in more than one place, to render it rich, opulent, and powerful; to make it abound with gold and ſilver; to extend its dominion far and wide; to keep up great fleets and armies in it, and thereby render it ſuperior to all others by ſea and land. It is eaſy to perceive that Athens is intended here. He propoſes ſomething much greater and more ſolid to himſelf: that is, to make it happy by making it In Alcib. p. 134. De Legib. l. 5. p. 742.

virtuous; and it can only be ſo by ſincere piety and profound ſubmiſſion in regard to God.

De Legib. l. 5. p. 420. When we ſpeak, ſays he elſewhere, of an happy city or republic, we do not pretend to confine that felicity only to ſome particulars, its principal perſons, nobility, and magiſtrates: we underſtand, that all the members of ſuch city or republic are happy, each in their ſeveral conditions and degrees; and in this the eſſential duty of a perſon charged with the government of it conſiſts.

Ib. p. 964. It is the ſame with a city or ſtate, as with the human body. This compariſon is entirely juſt, and abounds with conſequences. The body conſiſts of the head and the members, amongſt which members ſome are more noble, more conſpicuous, and more neceſſary than others. Can the body be ſaid to be in health, and good condition, when the leaſt and meaneſt of the members is diſeaſed and out of order?

De Rep. l. 2. p. 369, 374. Between all the inhabitants of a city, there is a mutual relation of wants and aſſiſtance, that forms an admirable tye of dependence amongſt them. The prince, the magiſtrates, and the rich have occaſion for food, cloaths, and lodging. What would they do, if there were not an inferior order of people to ſupply them with all thoſe neceſſaries? This Providence has taken care of, ſays Plato, in eſtabliſhing the different orders and conditions of men by the means of neceſſity. If all were rich, there would be neither huſbandmen, maſons, nor artificers: and, if all poor, there would be no princes, magiſtrates, and generals of armies, to govern and defend the reſt. It was this mutual dependence that formed ſtates, and within the compaſs of the ſame walls aſſembled and united a multitude of men of different trades and occupations, all neceſſary to the public good, and of whom in conſequence none ought to be neglected, and ſtill leſs deſpiſed by him who governs. From this multiplicity of talents, conditions, trades, and employments, reduced in

ſome

ſome meaſure to unity by this mutual communication and tendency to the ſame end, reſults an order, harmony, and concert of wonderful beauty, but which always ſuppoſes, that, for the perfection of the whole, it is neceſſary that each part ſhould have its perfection and ornament.

To return to the compariſon of a city or ſtate to the human body, the prince is as the head or ſoul of it; the miniſters, magiſtrates, generals of armies, and other officers appointed to execute his orders, are his eyes, arms, and feet. It is the prince who is to animate them, put them in motion, and direct their actions. The head is the ſeat of the underſtanding; and it is the underſtanding that regulates the uſe of the ſenſes, moves the members, and is watchful for their preſervation, well-being, and health. Plato uſes here the compariſon of a pilot, in whoſe head alone lies the knowledge of ſteering the veſſel, and to whoſe ability the ſafety of all on board is confided. How happy is a ſtate, whoſe prince ſpeaks and acts in this manner!

De Rep. l. 2. p. 961, 964.

*Whoever is charged with the care of others, ought to be firmly convinced, that he is deſigned for inferiors, and not inferiors for him.*

To be convinced of this principle, we have only in my opinion to conſult good ſenſe, right reaſon, and even common experience. It however ſeldom happens that ſuperiors are truly convinced of it, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato, to ſet this principle in full light, begins by introducing one Thraſymachus into the dialogue, who pleads the cauſe, or rather makes the apology, of a corrupt government. This man pretends, that, in every government, That ought to be conſidered as juſt, which is for the advantage of the government: That he who commands, and is in office, is not ſo for others, but for himſelf: That

Ibid. l. 2. p. 338, &c.

his will ought to be the rule of all under him: That if ſtrict juſtice were to be obſerved, Superiors of all men were the moſt to be pitied, having for their lot only the cares and anxieties of government, without being in a condition to advance their families, ſerve their friends, or comply with any recommendation, as they would be bound to act in all things according to the principles of exact and ſevere juſtice.

There are few, or rather none, who talk in this manner: but only too many reduce it to practice, and make it the rule of their conduct.

Plato refutes at large all this wretched reaſoning, and, according to his cuſtom, makes uſe of compariſons taken from the common uſes of life: I ſhall content myſelf here with the following ſingle proof, to ſhew that thoſe who command are deſigned for their inferiors, and not their inferiors for thoſe who command.

A pilot takes upon himſelf the care of a ſhip with a great number of perſons on board, whom different views and intereſts induce to go to a foreign country. Did it ever enter into the thoughts of any reaſonable man to imagine, that the paſſengers were for the pilot, and not the pilot for the paſſengers? Would any one venture to ſay, that the ſick whom a phyſician takes care of are for him? And is it not evident that phyſicians, as well as the art of phyſic, are intended ſolely for reſtoring health to the ſick? Princes are often repreſented by the antients under the idea of *the ſhepherds of the people.* The ſhepherd is certainly for his flock, and nobody is ſo unreaſonable to pretend, that the flock is for the ſhepherd.

Ποιμένα λαῶν.

It is from this doctrine of Plato, that the Roman orator borrowed the important maxim, which he ſtrongly inculcates to Quinctus Cicero his brother, in the admirable letter wherein he gives him advice for his good conduct in the government of

Aſia,

Aſia, which had been confided to his care. * *As for me*, ſays he, *I am convinced that the ſole end and attention of thoſe in authority ought to be to render all under them as happy as poſſible——And not only*, adds he, *thoſe who govern citizens and allies, but whoever has the care of ſlaves, and even of beaſts, ought to procure them all the good and convenience they can, and make their advantage their whole care.*

The natural conſequence of this principle, That all ſuperiors, without exception, are eſtabliſhed for the good of thoſe under them, is, that their ſole view in the uſe of their power and authority ought to be the public good. Hence alſo it follows, that only perſons of worth ſhould have great employments; that they ſhould even enter upon them againſt their will; and that it ſhould be neceſſary to uſe a kind of violence to oblige them to accept ſuch offices, And indeed places, wherein nothing is to be ſeen but pains, labour, and difficulty, are not ſo deſirable as to be ſought or ſollicited. However, ſays Plato, nothing is more common in our days than to make intereſt for poſts, and to pretend to the higheſt employments without any other merit, than an ambition that knows no bounds, and a blind eſteem for one's ſelf: and this abuſe it is that occaſions the misfortunes of ſtates and kingdoms, and terminates at length in their ruin. Plat. de Rep. l. 1. p. 347. Ibid. l. 7. p. 520, 521.

*Juſtice and the faith of engagements are the foundations of ſociety. Sanctity of oaths.*

The firmeſt tie of ſociety is juſtice, and the foundation of juſtice is fidelity to engagements, which faith conſiſts in the inviolable obſervance of promiſes given, and treaties made. Cic. Offic. l. 1. n. 20, 21.

* Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia eſſe referenda ab iis qui præſunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperiis erunt ſint quàm beatiſſimi——Eſt autem, non modò ejus qui ſociis & civibus, ſed etiam ejus qui ſervis, qui mutis pecudibus præſit, eorum quibus præſit commodis utilitatique ſervire. *Cic. Epiſt. 1 ad Q. Fratr.*

Injuſtice

Offic. l. 1. n. 41. Injuſtice can aſſume only two different forms, of which the one reſembles the fox, and is that of artifice and fraud; and the other the lion, which is that of violence. Both the one and the other are equally unworthy of man, and contrary to his nature: but the moſt odious and deteſtable is that of fraud and perfidy, eſpecially when it covers the blackeſt practices with the outſide of probity.

* All kinds of fraud and artifice ſhould be baniſhed from the commerce of mankind, with that malignant cunning of addreſs, that covers and adorns itſelf with the name of prudence, but which in reality is infinitely remote from it, and ſuits † only double-dealing, dark, knaviſh, malicious, artificial, perfidious people: for all thoſe odious and deteſtable names ſcarce ſuffice to expreſs the character of ſuch as renounce ſincerity and truth in the commerce of life.

By what name then muſt we call thoſe who make a jeſt of the ſanctity of oaths, ‡ which are ſolemn and religious affirmations, made in the preſence, and before the eyes of God, whom we call to witneſs to them, whom we tender in ſome meaſure the guarantee for their truth, and who will undoubtedly avenge the ſacrilegious abuſe of his name?

The regard due to the Divinity, could not, according to Plato, be carried too far in this reſpect.

De Leg. l. 12. p. 948, 949. It was from this principle he deſired that, in trials wherein only temporal intereſts were concerned, the judges ſhould not require any oath from the parties, in order that they might not be tempted to take falſe ones, as it happens, ſays he, with more than half thoſe who are obliged to ſwear; it being

* Quocirca aſtutiæ tollendæ ſunt, eâque malitiâ, quæ vult illa quidem ſe eſſe prudentiam, ſed abeſt ab ea, diſtatque plurimum. *Lib.* 3. *n.* 71.

† Hoc genus eſt hominis verſuti, obſcuri, aſtuti, fallacis, malitioſi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri. *Ibid. n.* 57.

‡ Eſt jusjurandum affirmatio religioſa. Quod autem affirmatè, quaſi Deo teſte, promiſeris, id tenendum eſt. *Ibid. n.* 104.

very

very uncommon and difficult for a man, when his eſtate, reputation, or life are at ſtake, to have ſo great a reverence for the name of God, as not to venture to take it in vain. This delicacy is remarkable in a Pagan, and well worth our ſerious reflection.

Plato goes ſtill farther. He declares, that not only to ſwear ſlightly, and without any important reaſon, but to uſe the name of God in familiar diſcourſe and converſation, is to diſhonour, and to be wanting in the reſpect due to the divine Majeſty. He would therefore have been far from approving a cuſtom, now very common even amongſt perſons of worth, of calling frequently upon the name of God, when nothing is leſs in queſtion than religion. De Leg. l. 12. p. 917.

*Different duties of civil life. Fine maxims upon virtue.*

Every one ought to conſider the common good as the great end of his actions. For, ſhould men know no good but private intereſt, and be for engroſſing every thing to themſelves, no kind of ſociety could ſubſiſt amongſt them. Offic. l. 3. n. 26.

Every thing upon earth was created for the uſe of man, and men themſelves were formed for one another, and for the aid of each other by reciprocal ſervices. Hence we are not to believe, that we were born only for ourſelves. Our country, our fathers, mothers, and friends, have a right to whatever we are, and it is our duty to procure them all the advantages in our power.

It is upon theſe principles of our duty to juſtice and ſociety, that the Stoics determine many queſtions of moral philoſophy, in a manner that condemns abundance of Chriſtian caſuiſts.

At the time of a famine, a merchant arrives firſt in a port laden with corn, followed by many others with the ſame freight. Ought he to declare, that the reſt will ſoon be there; or is it allowable for him to be ſilent about them, in order to make the better market for himſelf? The deciſion is, that he ought Ibid. n. 50. &c.

ought to declare it; becauſe ſo the good of human ſociety for which he is born requires.

Offic. l. 3. n. 91. A man receives bad money in payment. May he give it to others for good, knowing it to be counterfeit? He cannot, as an honeſt man.

Ibid. n. 92. Another ſells an ingot of gold, taking it for braſs. Is the buyer obliged to tell the ſeller that it is gold, or may he take the advantage of the other's ignorance, and buy that for a crown, which is perhaps worth a thouſand? He cannot in conſcience.

Plat. in Criton. p. 49. * It is an indiſputable maxim, ſays Plato, which ought to ſerve as a foundation for the whole conduct of civil life, that it is never allowable to hurt any one, nor conſequently to return evil for evil, injury for injury, or to take revenge of our enemies, and to make the ſame misfortunes fall upon them, which they have made us ſuffer. And this is what right reaſon teaches us. But the Pagans are not ſteady upon this refined point of morality. "He "is a good man, ſays Cicero, who does all the "good in his power, and hurts nobody, unleſs pro-"voked by injury." *Virum bonum eſſe, qui proſit quibus poſſit; noceat nemini, niſi laceſſitus injuria.*

Offic. l. 3. n. 76.

De Legib. l. 5. p. 742. One of the laws of Plato's commonwealth is, that money ſhould never be lent with uſury.

Ib. l. 11. p. 913. The goods of another are never to be appropriated to one's own uſe. "If I had found a treaſure, "ſays Plato, I would not touch it, though the au-"gurs upon being conſulted ſhould aſſure me that "I might apply it to my own uſe. That treaſure "in our coffers is not of ſo much value as the pro-"greſs we make in virtue and juſtice, when we "have the courage to deſpiſe it. Beſides, if we "appropriate it to our own uſe, it is a ſource of "curſes to our family."

De Legib. l. 5. p. 914. He judges in the ſame manner of a thing found in one's way.

* Ἀρχώμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βουλευόμενοι, ὡς οὐδέποτε ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος οὔτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε κακῶς πάσχοντα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντιδρῶντας κακῶς.

All

All other good things, without virtue, ought to be regarded as real evils. And * this virtue is neither the gift of nature, the fruit of ſtudy, nor the growth of human wit, but an ineſtimable bleſſing, which God confers on whom he pleaſes. In Menex. p. 246. In Menon, p. 99.

*Contraſt between a good man under a load of evils, and a wicked man in the higheſt affluence and good fortune.*

Plato ſuppoſes two men very different in the world's thoughts and treatment of them. The one conſummately wicked, without either faith, probity, or honour, but wearing the maſk of all thoſe virtues; the other a perfectly good man, (I mean according to the idea of the Pagans) who has no thoughts but to be, not to ſeem, juſt.

† The firſt, for the attainment of his ends, ſpares neither fraud, injuſtice, nor calumny, and reckons the greateſt crimes as nothing, provided he can but conceal them. With an outſide of religion, he affects to adore the gods with pomp and ſplendor, offering preſents and ſacrifices to them in greater number, and with more magnificence than any body. By this means deceiving the dim ſight of men, that cannot pierce into the heart, he ſucceeds in heaping up riches, honours, eſteem, reputation,

* Εἰ καλῶς ἐζητήσαμεν, ἀρετὴ ἂν εἴη ἔτι φύσει ἔτι διδακτὸν· ἀλλὰ θεία μοῖρα παραγιγνομένη ἄνευ νοῦ, οἷς ἂν παραγίγνηται.

† Quæro, ſi duo ſint, quorum alter optimus vir, æquiſſimus, ſumma juſtitia, ſingulari fide; alter inſignis ſcelere & audacia: &, ſi in eo errore ſit civitas, ut bonum illum virum ſceleratum, facinoroſum, nefarium putet: contrà autem qui ſit improbiſſimus, exiſtimet eſſe ſumma probitate ac fide; proque hac opinione omnium civium, bonus ille vir vexetur, rapiatur, manus ei denique auferantur, effodiantur oculi, damnetur, vinciatur, uratur, exterminetur, egeat, poſtremò jure etiam optimo omnibus miſerrimus eſſe videatur; contrà autem, ille improbus laudetur, colatur, ab omnibus diligatur; omnes ad eum honores, omnia imperia, omnes opes, omnes denique copiæ conferantur; vir denique optimus omnium exiſtimatione, & digniſſimus omni fortuna judicetur: quis tandem erit tam demens, qui dubitet utrum ſe eſſe malit? *Cic. apud Lactant. divin. Inſtit.* l. 5. c. 12.

powerful

powerful eſtabliſhments, and multiplying advantageous marriages for himſelf and his children; in a word, whatever the moſt ſplendid fortune includes of what is moſt ſoothing and beneficial.

The ſecond, in a ſupreme degree the good man, ſimple, modeſt, reſerved, ſolely intent upon his duty, inviolably attached to juſtice, far from being honoured and rewarded as he would deſerve; (in which caſe, ſays Plato, it could not be diſcerned whether virtue itſelf, or the honours and rewards conſequential upon it, were his motives) is univerſally in diſgrace, blackened with the moſt odious calumnies, looked upon as the vileſt of wretches,* abandoned to the moſt cruel and ignominious treatment, *thrown into priſon, ſcourged, wounded, and at laſt nailed to a croſs*; whilſt he chuſes rather to undergo the moſt cruel torments, than to renounce juſtice and innocence. Is there any one, cries Cicero, ſo ſtupid as to heſitate one moment, which of theſe two he would rather chuſe to reſemble?

We are ſurpriſed to find ſentiments ſo noble, ſo exalted, and ſo conformable to right reaſon and juſtice, amongſt the Pagans. We ſhould remember, that, notwithſtanding the general corruption and darkneſs which had overſpread the Pagan world, the light of the Eternal Word did not fail to ſhine out to a certain degree in their minds:

John i. 5. *And the light ſhineth in darkneſs.* It is that light which diſcovers and makes known to them various truths, and the principles of the law of nature. It is that light which writes it in their hearts, and gives them the diſcernment of many things juſt and unjuſt: which makes St. Auguſtine ſay, *Let the wicked ſee in* THE BOOK OF THE LIGHT *in what manner they ought to live.*

In libro lucis.

* Οὗτο διακείμενο ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, τροβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ· τελευτῶν, πάντα κακὰ παθὼν, ἀνασχινδιλευθήσεται. Id eſt, ſuſpenditur.

Now,

Now, when we ſee in Greece crowds of learned men, a people of philoſophers, who ſucceed one another during four entire ages; who employ themſelves ſolely in inquiring after truth; who moſt of them, for ſucceeding the better therein, renounce their fortunes, country, ſettlement, and all other employments except that of applying to the ſtudy of wiſdom: Can we believe ſo ſingular and even unexampled an event, which never happened in any other part or time of the world, the effect of chance, and that Providence had neither any ſhare in it, nor intended it for any end? It had not deſtined the philoſophers to reform the errors of mankind. Thoſe great wits diſputed four hundred years almoſt, without agreeing upon and concluding any thing. None of their ſchools undertook to prove the unity of the Godhead, none of them ever ſo much as thought of advancing the neceſſity of a Mediator. But how uſeful were their moral precepts upon the virtues and duties, in preventing the inundation of vice? What horrid diſorders had taken place, had the Epicureans been the prevailing and only ſect? How much did their inquiries contribute to the preſervation of the important doctrines of the diſtinction between matter and mind, of the immortality of the ſoul, and the exiſtence of a Supreme Being? Many of them had admirable principles upon all theſe points *which God had made known unto them*, Rom. i. 19. preferable to ſo many other people whom he left in barbarity and ignorance.

As this knowledge of theirs, and the virtuous actions conſequential upon it, may be conſidered under a double point of view; it ought alſo to produce two quite different effects in us. If we conſider it as an emanation of that eternal light, *which ſhineth even in darkneſs*, who can doubt whether it be worthy of our eſteem and admiration? But if we conſider it in the principle from whence it proceeded,

and

and the abuſe made of it by the Pagans, it cannot be praiſed without reſerve and exception. It is by the ſame rule we are to judge of all that we read in profane hiſtory. The moſt ſhining actions of virtue which it relates are always infinitely remote from pure and real virtue, becauſe not directed to their principle, and having their root in cupidity, that is to ſay, pride and ſelf-love. *Radicata eſt cupiditas: ſpecies poteſt eſſe bonorum factorum, verè opera bona eſſe non poſſunt.* The root is not judged by the branches, but the branches by the root. The bloſſoms and even fruit may ſeem like; but their root is highly different. *Noli attendere quod floret foris, ſed quæ radix eſt interna.* Not what theſe actions have of real, but what is defective in them, ought to be condemned. It is not what they have, but what they want, that makes them vicious. And what they want is Charity, that ineſtimable gift, of which the want cannot be ſupplied by any other, and which is not to be found out of the Chriſtian Church and the true religion. Accordingly we ſee, that none of the Pagans, who in other reſpects have laid down very fine rules of duty between man and man, have made the love of God the fundamental principle of their morality: none of them have taught the neceſſity of directing the actions of human probity to him. They knew the branches, but not the ſtem and trunk of moral perfection.

St. Auguſtin.

ART I.

## ARTICLE. III.

### *Of Juriſprudence, or the Civil Law.*

I Annex the knowledge of laws to moral philoſophy, of which it is a part, or at leaſt to which it has a great relation. It is a ſubject of great extent, but I ſhall treat it very ſuccinctly. The memoirs with which an able profeſſor of law, Mr. Lorry, one of my very good friends, has ſupplied me, have been of great uſe to me.

By the knowledge of the law, I mean the knowledge of Right, of Laws in general. Every people have had their particular laws and legiſlators. Moſes is the moſt antient of them all: God himſelf dictated the laws it was his will that his people ſhould obſerve. Mercurius Triſmegiſtus amongſt the Egyptians, Minos amongſt the inhabitants of the iſland of Crete, Pythagoras amongſt the cities of Great Greece, Charondas and Zaleucus in the ſame country, Lycurgus at Sparta, and Draco and Solon at Athens, are the moſt celebrated Legiſlators of Pagan antiquity. As I have ſpoken of them with ſufficient extent in the courſe of this hiſtory, I proceed directly to the Romans.

The beginnings of the Roman civil law were little extenſive. Under the kings, Rome had only a ſmall number of laws, which were propoſed at firſt by the ſenate, and afterwards confirmed in the aſſembly of the people. Papirius, who lived in the time of Tarquinius Priſcus, was the firſt that collected the laws made by the kings into one body. That collection was called, from the name of its author, *Jus Papirianum, The Papirian law.*

The commonwealth, after having aboliſhed the power of kings, retained their laws for ſome time: but they were afterwards expreſsly aboliſhed by the Tribunitian law, in hatred to the name of kings.

From that time it uſed an uncertain kind of Right till the twelve tables, which were prepared by the Decemviri, and compoſed out of the laws of Athens and the principal cities of Greece, into which deputies had been ſent to collect ſuch as they ſhould judge the wiſeſt and beſt adapted to a republican government. * Theſe laws were the foundation and ſource of the whole Roman civil law; and Cicero † is not afraid to prefer them infinitely to all the writings and books of the philoſophers, as well in reſpect to the weight of their authority, as the extent of the utility deducible from them.

The brevity, and at the ſame time the ſeverity, of the law of the twelve tables, made way for the interpretation of the learned, and the prætor's Edicts. The firſt employed themſelves in explaining their ſpirit and intention: the ſecond in ſoftening their rigour, and ſupplying what might have been omitted.

The laws, in proceſs of time, having multiplied to infinity in a manner, the ſtudy of them became abſolutely neceſſary, and at the ſame time very difficult. Perſons of birth, capacity, learning, and love for the public good, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Civilians, applied wholly to this ſtudy. The young Romans, who deſigned to open themſelves a way to the great offices of the commonwealth by the talent of eloquence, which was the firſt ſtep to them, went to the houſes of theſe civilians in order to acquire their firſt knowledge of the law, without which it was not poſſible for them to ſucceed at the

* Qui nunc quoque in hoc immenſo aliarum ſuper alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique eſt juris. *Liv. l.* 3. *n.* 34.

† Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod ſentio. Bibliothecas mehercule omnium philoſophorum unus mihi videtur XII tabularum libellus, ſi quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & auctoritatis pondere, & utilitatis ubertate ſuperare. *De Orat. l.* 1. *n.* 195.

bar-

bar. ‡ Private perſons in all their affairs had recourſe to them, and their houſes were regarded as the oracles of the whole city, from whence anſwers were brought, which determined doubts, calmed diſquiefs, and directed the methods it was neceſſary to take in the proſecution of all ſuits.

Theſe anſwers were no more than opinions, which might inform the judes, but impoſed no neceſſity upon them of following them. Auguſtus was the firſt who gave them more authority, in appointing civilians himſelf, that were no longer limited to ſerve as council to particulars, but were held the emperor's officers. From thenceforth, their opinions reduced to writing, and ſealed with the public authority, had the force of laws, to which the Emperors obliged the judges to conform.

The civillians publiſhed various works under different titles, which have contributed exceedingly to reducing the knowledge of the civil law into art and method.

*Theſe laws*, in proceſs of time, multiplied extremely, and made way for doubts and difficulties by contradictions ſuppoſed or real. In ſuch caſes recourſe was had to the prince, who gave the ſolution of them. He adjudged alſo by decrees the cauſes referred to him by appeal, and anſwered by reſcripts all the conſultations addreſſed to him by petition or memorial. And from thence partly came the Conſtitutions of the Emperors, ſo full of wiſdom and equity, from which the body of the Roman or Civil law has been formed.

To form theſe deciſions with the greater maturity, they callled in the aſſiſtance of the moſt learned civilians, and did not give their anſwers, till after having concerted them well with all the perſons in

‡ Eſt ſine dubio domus juriſconſulti totius oraculum civitatis, *unde cives ſibi conſilium expetant ſuarum rerum incerti: quos ego* (it is Craſſus that ſpeaks) *meâ ope ex incertis certos compoteſque conſilii dimitto, ut ne res temerè tractent turbidas.* De Orat. l. i. n. 199, 200.

the empire who were beſt verſed in the laws and rights of the public.

I ſhall ſay a few words in this place upon the moſt celebrated civil lawyers of the later times.

A. D. 205. PAPINIAN (*Æmilius*) was in great conſideration with the emperor Severus, whom he had ſucceeded in the office of Fiſcal advocate. He was looked upon as the aſylum of the laws, and the repoſitory of the whole knowledge of them. The emperor Valentinian III. raiſed him above all the civilians, in ordaining, by his law of the 7th of November 426, that, when they were divided upon any point, they ſhould follow the opinion eſpouſed by that eminent genius, as he calls him. And indeed Cujas judges him the moſt profound civilian that ever was, or ever will be.

Cod. Th. 1. T. 4. l. 1.

Cuj. in Cod. Th.

The Emperor Severus, being willing to raiſe his great merit to equal dignity, made him *Præfectus prætorio*, of which one of the principal functions was to judge cauſes jointly with the emperor, or in his name. Papinian, to acquit himſelf the better in that office, took Paulus and Ulpian for his counſellors and judges aſſiſtant, whoſe names are alſo very famous amongſt the civilians.

Severus, at his death, left two ſons, Caracalla and Geta. Though they had both the name, Dion aſſures us that only Caracalla had the power, of emperor, who ſoon ridded himſelf of his colleague in the moſt cruel and barbarous manner conceivable; for he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated in the arms of their common mother, and, according to ſome, killed him with his own hands.

Dio. l. 77. p. 870, &c.

Caracalla murdered all whom his brother had loved, and who had either ſerved or retained to him, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality; and Dion ſays, that he began with twenty thouſand of his domeſtics and ſoldiers. To mention or write the name of Geta ſufficed for being immediately butchered;

Cæſariani.

butchered; ſo that the poets dared not uſe it even in comedies, where it was commonly given to ſlaves.

Papinian could not eſcape his cruelty. It is ſaid, that Caracalla would have obliged him to compoſe a diſcourſe to excuſe the death of Geta either to the ſenate or people, and that he generouſly replied: *It is not ſo eaſy to excuſe, as to commit, parricide*; and, *To accuſe an innocent perſon, after having deprived him of his life, is a ſecond parricide.* He remembered without doubt, that Seneca had been very much blamed, for having compoſed a letter for Nero to the ſenate, to juſtify the aſſaſſination of his mother. The ſon of Papinian, who was then quæſtor, and had three days before exhibited magnificent games, was alſo killed. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 11.

FABIUS SABINUS. The Emperor Heliogabalus having ordered a centurion to go and kill Sabinus, that officer, who was a little deaf, believed that he had bade him make Sabinus quit the city. The centurion's error ſaved the life of Sabinus, who paſſed for the Cato of his times. The Emperor Alexander, who ſucceeded Heliogabalus, placed him in the number of thoſe next his perſon, and whoſe counſel he took for governing wiſely. A. D. 221.

ULPIAN (*Domitius Ulpianus*) deſcended originally from the city of Tyre. He had been counſellor, and judge aſſiſtant to Papinian, in the time of Severus. When Alexander came to the empire, he placed him near his perſon, in quality of counſellor of ſtate, and to take care of all things referred to his judgment, which employment is evidently that ſince called Great Referendary. He afterwards made him *Præfectus prætorio.* A. D. 222. Scriniorum magiſter.

Lampridius places him at the head of thoſe wiſe, learned, and faithful perſons, who compoſed Alexander's council; and aſſures us that prince paid him greater deference than any body elſe, upon account of his extraordinary love of juſtice; that he converſed only with him in private; that In Alexand.

he looked upon him as his tutor; and that he proved an excellent emperor, from making great uſe of Ulpian's counſels in the government of the empire.

As Ulpian endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh diſcipline amongſt the Prætorian ſoldiers, they roſe againſt him, and demanded his death of Alexander. Inſtead of granting their requeſt, he often covered him with his purple robe, to defend him againſt the effects of their fury. At length, having attacked him in the night, he was obliged to fly to the palace to implore the aid of Alexander and Mammæa. But all the awe of the imperial authority could not ſave him, and he was killed by the ſoldiers, even in the ſight of Alexander. Several of Ulpian's works are ſtill extant.

In Alex. vit.

PAULUS. (*Julius Paulus.*) He was of Padua, where his ſtatue is ſtill to be ſeen. He was nominated conſul under Alexander, and then *Præfectus prætorio*. He, as well as Sabinus and Ulpian, was of the council formed by Mammæa the mother, and Mæſa the grandmother of Alexander, to adminiſter the public affairs during the minority of that prince. Every body knows the great ſervices they did, and the reputation they acquired, him. The Roman empire had at that time every thing that could render a ſtate happy, a very good prince, and excellent miniſters: for the one is of ſmall utility without the other; and perhaps it is even more dangerous to the people to have a prince good of himſelf, but who ſuffers himſelf to be deceived by bad men, than to have one more wicked, who however inſpects into the conduct of his officers, and obliges them to do their duty. Alexander always ſet great value upon the merit of Paulus, who is ſaid to have written more than any other civilian.

POMPONIUS was alſo of Alexander's court and council. How happy was this reign! As he lived to the age of ſeventy-eight, he compoſed a great number

number of works. Amongſt the reſt, he made a collection of all the famous civilians down to the Emperor Julian.

MODESTINUS *(Herennius)* lived alſo in the reign of Alexander, who raiſed him to the conſulſhip. He, as well as the four preceding lawyers, was Papinian's diſciple, whoſe care formed them all in the knowledge of the civil law. What ſervices does a ſingle man ſometimes render a ſtate by his learning and pupils!

TREBONIAN was of Pamphylia. He was honoured with the firſt employments at Conſtantinople by the emperor Juſtinian. It was under that prince, and by his care, that the civil law took a new form, and was reduced into an order that ſtill ſubſiſts, and will for ever do him honour.

Before him, there were many *Codes*, which were either compiled from, or abridgments of, the Roman laws. Gregorius and Hermogenes, two civilians, made a collection of laws, which from their names was called *The Gregorian and Hermogenian Code.* It was a collection of the Conſtitutions of the Emperors, from Adrian down to Diocleſian and Maximin in 306. This work was of no uſe, for want of authority to cauſe it to be obſerved. The Emperor Theodoſius the Younger was the firſt who compoſed a *Code* in ſixteen books, conſiſting of the Conſtitutions of the Emperors from Conſtantine the Great down to him; and he abrogated all laws not compriſed in this ſyſtem, which is called *The Theodoſian Code*, and was publiſhed in 438.

And, laſtly, the Emperor Juſtinian, ſeeing the authority of the Roman law much weakened in the Weſt, from the decline of the empire, reſolved to cauſe the whole body of the Roman law to be compiled a-new. He charged Trebonian with this commiſſion, who called in the aid of the moſt learned civilians then in being. He choſe the fineſt of

the Imperial Conſtitutions from Adrian down to his own time, and publiſhed this new *Code* in 529.

He afterwards undertook a new work by order of the emperor: this was to extract the fineſt deciſions from the two thouſand volumes of the antient civilians, and to reduce them into one body; which was publiſhed in 533, under the name of *The Digeſt*. The Emperor gave this collection the force of law by the letter which he placed in front of the work, and which ſerves it for a preface. It is called alſo *The Pandect*. The Digeſt conſiſts of fifty books.

The ſame year appeared the *Inſtitutes* of Juſtinian, a book which contains the elements and principles of the Roman or civil law.

The year following, that is to ſay in 534, the emperor made ſome alterations in his firſt Code, which he aboliſhed, and ſubſtituted a new one in its ſtead, to which alone he gave the authority of law.

And, laſtly, after this reviſal, Juſtinian publiſhed an hundred and ſixty-five conſtitutions, and thirteen edicts, which are called *Novellæ*, *the Novels*, either becauſe they make a conſiderable change in the antient law; or, according to Cujas, becauſe they were made upon new caſes, and compiled after the reviſal of the Code by the order of that emperor. Moſt of the *Novels* were written in Greek, and were tranſlated into Latin.

The body of the civil law therefore conſiſts of four parts, the Code, the Digeſt, the Inſtitutes, and the Novels. By the *Civil Law*, the Inſtitutes underſtand the laws peculiar to each city or people. But at preſent it is properly the Roman law, contained in the Inſtitutes, the Digeſt, and the Code. It is otherwiſe called *the Written Law*.

From all that I have now ſaid may be ſeen, what ſervices a prince may render his people, who applies himſelf ſeriouſly to the cares of government, and who is well convinced of the extent and importance

portance of his duties. Juſtinian had been very ſucceſsful in the wars he had undertaken, and had * the wiſdom to aſcribe that ſucceſs neither to the number of his troops, the courage of his ſoldiers, the experience of his generals, nor his own talents and abilities; but ſolely to the protection with which God had vouchſafed to favour his arms. But, had he contented himſelf with this military glory, he would have thought, that he had only half diſcharged the functions of ſovereignty, which was principally eſtabliſhed for rendering juſtice to the people in the name and place of God himſelf. Accordingly he declares expreſsly in a public edict, that the † Imperial Majeſty ought not to be adorned with arms only, but armed alſo with laws, for the good government of the people, as well in peace as war.

Accordingly, after having reſtored peace to the provinces of the empire as a warrior, he turned his thoughts to the regulation of its polity as a legiſlator, by inſtituting an univerſal body of law, to ſerve as the rule of all tribunals: a work which had been much the object of the wiſhes of his predeceſſors, as himſelf obſerves in more than one place, but which ſeemed attended with ſo many difficulties, that they had always believed it impracticable. He ſurmounted them all with a conſtancy that nothing was capable of diſcouraging.

For ſucceeding in this important enterpriſe he employed all the moſt learned civilians in the whole extent of the empire, ‡ preſiding himſelf in the work, and

* Ita noſtros animos Dei omnipotentis erigimus adjutorium, ut neque armis confidamus, neque noſtris militibus, neque bellorum ducibus, vel noſtro ingenio; ſed omnem ſpem ad ſolam referamus ſummæ providentiam Trinitatis. *Epiſt. ad Trebon.*

† Imperatoriam majeſtatem non ſolum armis decoratam, ſed etiam legibus oportet eſſe armatam, ut utrumque tempus, & bellorum & pacis, recte poſſit gubernari. *Epiſt. ad cupidam legum juventutem.*

‡ Noſtra quoque majeſtas ſemper inveſtigando & perſcrutando ea quæ ab his componebantur, quicquid dubium & incertum inveniebatur

and reviſing exactly all they compoſed. Far from aſcribing the honour of it to himſelf, as is uſual enough, he does them all juſtice; he mentions them with praiſes, he extols their erudition, he treats them almoſt as his colleagues, and recommends it, as a duty, to thank the Divine Providence for having ſupplied him with ſuch aids, and for having honoured his reign by the compoſition of a work ſo long deſired, and ſo uſeful and neceſſary for the due adminiſtration of juſtice. An emperor, of leſs zeal for the public good, and leſs liberality, than Juſtinian, would have left all thoſe civilians in obſcurity and inaction. How many excellent talents of all kinds remain buried, for want of patrons to produce them! The learned are not wanting to princes, but princes to the learned.

The great qualities and actions of Juſtinian would have recommended him for ever to the veneration of mankind, if his conduct, in reſpect to Eccleſiaſtical affairs, had not ſullied his glory.

I ſhall conclude this article upon the knowledge of civil law, with ſome extracts from laws, that may give the reader an idea of the beauty and ſolidity of the different Inſtitutions of which I have been ſpeaking.

*Digna vox eſt majeſtate regnantis, legibus alligatum ſe Principem profiteri: adeo de auctoritate juris noſtra pendet auctoritas. Et, re vera, majus imperio eſt ſummittere legibus principatum; & oraculo præſentis Edicti, quod nobis licere non patimur, aliis indicamus.*" "It is "worthy of the majeſty of a prince to declare himſelf bound and limited by the laws: ſo much "does our authority depend on Right and Juſtice. "And indeed to ſubmit the ſovereign power to the "laws is greater than to exerciſe it; wherefore we "are well ſatisfied to make known to others, by "the preſent edict, what we do not think lawful

batur——emendabat, & in competentem formam redigebat. *Epiſt. ad ſenat. & omnes populos.*

"for

" for us to do." It is an Emperor, maſter of almoſt the univerſe, who ſpeaks thus, and who is not afraid of hurting his authority, by declaring the juſt bounds by which it is limited.

*Reſcripta contra jus elicita ab omnibus Judicibus refutari præcipimus; niſi fortè ſit aliquid, quod non lædat alium, & proſit petenti, vel crimen ſupplicantibus indulgeat.* " We ordain, that no judge ſhall have any " regard to reſcripts obtained from us contrary to " juſtice, unleſs they tend to granting ſome grace " to petitioners not to the hurt of others, or to re- " mitting ſome puniſhment to ſuppliants." It is very uncommon for princes either to own that they have deceived themſelves, or been deceived by others, and to retract in conſequence what they have once decreed. Nothing however does them more honour than ſuch an acknowledgment, as we ſee in the example of Artaxerxes, who publicly revoked the unjuſt Decree he had been miſled into paſſing againſt the Jews.

*Scire leges non hoc eſt verba earum tenere, ſed vim ac poteſtatem.* " To know the laws is not only to " underſtand the words of which they are com- " poſed, but their force and efficacy."

*Non dubium eſt in legem committere eum, qui verba legis amplexus, contra legis nititur voluntatem; nec pœnas inſertas legibus evitabit, qui ſe contra juris ſententiam ſæva prærogativa verborum fraudulenter excuſat.* " It is not to be doubted, but that he acts con- " trary to the law, who, confining himſelf to the " letter, acts contrary to the ſpirit and intent of " it; and whoever, to excuſe himſelf, endeavours " fraudulently to elude the true ſenſe of a law by " a rigorous attachment to the words of it, ſhall " not eſcape its penalties by ſuch prevarication."

*Nulla juris ratio, aut æquitatis benignitas patitur, ut, quæ ſalubriter pro utilitate hominum introducuntur, ea nos duriore interpretatione contra ipſorum commodum producamus ad ſeveritatem.* " It is contrary to all " juſtice

" juſtice and equity, that thoſe things which have " been wiſely inſtituted for the good of mankind, " ſhould be wreſted to their prejudice by a miſtaken " ſeverity, and a too rigid interpretation."

*Obſervandum eſt jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem ſe præbeat, ſed contemni non patiatur. Unde mandatis adjicitur, ne in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant: nam ex converſatione æquali contemptio dignitatis naſcitur. Sed & in cognoſcendo, neque excandeſcere adverſus eos quos malos putat, neque precibus calamitoſorum illachrymari oportet. Id enim non eſt conſtantis & recti judicis, cujus animi motum vultus detegit; & ſummatim ita jus reddi debet, ut auctoritatem dignitatis ingenio ſuo augeat.* " The per- " ſon who adminiſters juſtice ought indeed to be " eaſy of acceſs, but ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to " be deſpiſed by making himſelf too cheap. Hence " it is, that, in the inſtructions given to provincial " governors and magiſtrates, it is recommended to " them, not to admit the people of their provinces " into too great a degree of familiarity, becauſe " converſing as equals induces contempt of dig- " nity. In rendering juſtice, he ought alſo nei- " ther to expreſs great indignation againſt ſuch as " he believes criminal, nor ſuffer himſelf to be " ſoftened too much by the prayers of the unfor- " tunate. For it does not become the conſtancy " and gravity of an upright judge to diſcover the " ſentiments of his heart in his countenance: in a " word, he ought to diſpenſe juſtice in ſuch a " manner as to exalt the authority of his office by " the wiſdom and moderation of his conduct."

Ulpianus. *Quæ ſub conditione jurisjurandi relinquuntur, à Prætore reprobantur. Providit enim is qui ſub jurisjurandi conditione quid accepit, aut omittendo conditionem perderet hæreditatem legatumve, aut cogeretur turpiter, accipiendo conditionem, jurare. Voluit ergo eum, cui ſub jurisjurandi conditione quid relictum eſt, ita capere, ut capiunt hi, quibus nulla talis jurisjurandi conditio inſeritur:*

*ritur: & rectè. Cùm enim faciles ſint nonnulli hominum ad jurandum contemptu religionis, alii perquam timidi metu divini Numinis uſque ad ſuperſtitionem: ne vel hi, vel illi, aut conſequerentur, aut perderent quod relictum eſt, Prætor conſultiſſimè intervenit.* The tendency of this law is admirable. It diſpenſes with a perſon's taking an oath, to whom an eſtate or legacy has been left, upon condition of taking ſuch oath; and ordains, that he ſhall enjoy ſuch eſtate or legacy, as if ſuch condition had not been inſerted, leſt it ſhould occaſion him either to ſwear contrary to his conſcience, or to renounce his right through an over-ſcrupulous or ſuperſtitious delicacy of conſcience. It were to be wiſhed, that the ſpirit of this law ſhould occaſion the abundance of uſeleſs oaths to be aboliſhed, which bad cuſtom has introduced into all the trading ſocieties and companies of France.

*Advocati, qui dirimunt ambigua fata cauſarum, ſuæque defenſionis viribus in rebus ſæpe publicis ac privatis lapſa erigunt, fatigata reparant, non minùs provident humano generi, quàm ſi præliis atque vulneribus patriam parenteſque ſalvarent. Nec enim ſolos noſtro imperio militari credimus illos, qui gladiis, clypeis, & thoracibus nituntur, ſed etiam advocatos. Militant namque patroni cauſarum, qui glorioſæ vocis confiſi munimine, laborantium ſpem, vitam, ac poſteros defendunt.* "Advocates, who terminate cauſes, of which the "events are always uncertain, and who by the "force of their eloquence, whether in reſpect to "the public, which often happens, or private per"ſons, reinſtate ruinous affairs, render no leſs ſer"vice to mankind, than if they defended their "country and parents in battle, at the expence "of their blood and wounds. For we rank, in "the number of thoſe who fight for our empire, "not only ſuch as act for it with ſword, harneſs, "and ſhield, but thoſe alſo who lend our ſubjects

"the

" the noble aid of eloquence, in defence of their " lives, intereſts, and poſterity."

It is with reaſon that the prince beſtows ſuch fine praiſes on a profeſſion which makes ſo ſalutary an uſe of the talents of the mind, and that he equals it with whatever is greateſt in the ſtate. But at the ſame time he recommends to advocates the exerciſe of ſo illuſtrious a profeſſion with a noble diſintereſtedneſs, and not to diſgrace it by a baſe devotion to ſordid intereſt: *Ut non ad turpe compendium ſtipemque deformem hæc arripiatur occaſio, ſed laudis per eam augmenta quærantur. Nam ſi lucro pecuniaque capiantur, veluti abjecti atque degeneres inter viliſſimos numerabuntur.* He alſo exhorts them not to abandon themſelves to the inhuman itch and pleaſure of bitter raillery and groſs invective, which only leſſen the weight of the advocate's diſcourſe in the eſteem of his hearers; but to confine themſelves ſtrictly to what the neceſſity and ſucceſs of cauſes requires: *Ante omnia autem univerſi advocati ita præbeant patrocinia jurgantibus, ut non ultra quàm litium poſcit utilitas, in licentiam convitiandi & maledicendi temeritate prorumpant. Agant quod cauſa deſiderat; temperent ab injuria. Nam ſi quis adeo procax fuerit; ut non ratione ſed probris putet eſſe certandum, opinionis ſuæ imminutionem patietur.*

CHAP.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning* METAPHYSICS *and* PHYSICS.

I HAVE already obſerved that Metaphyſics were included in the Phyſics of the antients. I ſhall examine four points in them. The exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity; the formation of the World; the nature of the Soul; and the effects of Nature.

### ARTICLE I.

### *Of the exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity.*

THE opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning the Divinity may be reduced to three principal points or queſtions. 1. Whether the Divinity exiſts? 2. What is his nature? 3. Whether he preſides over the government of the world, and makes the affairs of mankind his care?

Before I enter into the chaos of philoſophical opinions, it will not be improper to explain in few words the ſtate of the belief of the whole world in reſpect to the Divinity, as the philoſophers found it, when they firſt began to introduce their maxims upon this point by the ſole method of *reaſoning*; and to ſlight the common and popular belief of all the nations of the univerſe, even to the moſt barbarous, which had ſupported itſelf in a conſtant and uniform manner by *tradition* alone.

Before the philoſophers, the whole world agreed in believing a Supreme Being, omnipreſent, and attentive to the prayers of all who invoked his name, in whatſoever condition they might be, in the midſt of deſarts, in the violence of ſtorms at ſea, and

and in the gloom of dungeons; ſo good as to concern himſelf for the misfortunes of men, with power to deliver them out of them: the diſpenſer of victory, ſucceſs, abundance, and every kind of proſperity: the arbiter of the ſeaſons, and of the fecundity of man and beaſt: preſiding at the conventions and treaties made either between kings or private perſons: receiving their oaths, exacting the execution, and puniſhing with inexorable ſeverity the leaſt violation of them: giving or taking away courage, preſence of mind, expedients, good counſel, and attention and docility to wiſe advice: protecting the innocent, the weak, and the injured, and declaring himſelf the avenger of oppreſſion, violence, and injuſtice: judging kings and nations, deciding their lot and deſtiny, and aſſigning with abſolute power the extent and duration of kingdoms and empires.

Such were part of the thoughts which men generally had of the Divinity, even in the midſt of the darkneſs of Paganiſm, which may ſerve as a ſummary of the ideas they had derived from an univerſal and perpetual tradition, undoubtedly as antient as the world, upon this head. That this is true, we have inconteſtable proofs in the poems of Homer, the moſt venerable monument of Pagan antiquity, and which may be conſidered as the archives of the religion of thoſe remote times.

## SECT. I.

### *Of the exiſtence of the Divinity.*

THE philoſophers were much divided concerning different points of philoſophy, but they all agreed in reſpect to the exiſtence of the Divinity, except a very ſmall number, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak. Though theſe philoſophers, by their inquiries and diſputes, added nothing at bottom to what all nations believed before them upon this

this head, thoſe inquiries and diſputes cannot however be ſaid to be uſeleſs. They ſerved to confirm mankind in their antient belief, and to obviate the pernicious ſubtilties of thoſe who would attack it. The union of ſo many perſons generally eſteemed for the ſolidity of their ſenſe, their indefatigable application to ſtudy, and the vaſt extent of their knowledge, added new weight to the common and antiently received opinion concerning the exiſtence of the Divinity. The philoſophers ſupported this opinion with many proofs, ſome more ſubtile and abſtracted, and others more popular and obvious to the underſtanding of the vulgar. I ſhall content myſelf with pointing out ſome few of the latter kind.

The conſtant and general concurrence of men of all ages and countries in the firm belief of the exiſtence of the Divinity ſeemed to them an argument, to which it was impoſſible to object any thing with ſenſe or reaſon. The opinions that have no other foundation but vulgar error and credulous prejudice, may indeed continue for ſome time, and prevail in certain countries: but ſoon or late they give way, and loſe all belief. * Epicurus founded the proof of the exiſtence of the gods upon nature's having ſtampt the idea of them on every mind. Without the idea of a thing, ſaid he, we can neither conceive, ſpeak of, nor diſpute about it. Now what people, what kind of men, have not an idea, a notion of gods, independently of all learning? That is not an opinion derived from education,

* Epicurus ſolus vidit primùm eſſe deos, quòd in omnium animis eorum notionem impreſſiſſet ipſa natura. Quæ eſt enim gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat ſine doctrinâ anticipationem quandam deorum? quam appellat προλήψιν Epicurus, id eſt anteceptam animo quandam informationem, ſine qua nec intelligi quidquam, nec quæri, nec diſputari poſſit—Cùm ergo non inſtituto aliquo, aut more, aut lege ſit opinio conſtituta, maneatque ad unum omnium firma conſenſio, intelligi neceſſe eſt eſſe deos: quoniam inſitas eorum, vel potiùs innatas cognitiones habemus. De quo autem omnium natura conſentit, id verum eſſe neceſſe eſt. *Ibid.* l. 1. n. 43, 44.

cuſtom, or any human law; but the firm and unanimous belief of all mankind: it is therefore from notions implanted in our ſouls, or rather innate, that we conceive there are gods. Now all judgments of nature, when univerſal, are neceſſarily true.

Another argument, which the philoſophers more frequently uſed, becauſe evident to the moſt ſimple, is the contemplation of nature. The leaſt practiſed in reaſoning may at a ſingle view diſcover him, who paints himſelf in all his works. The wiſdom and power he has ſhewn, in all he has done, ſhew themſelves, as in a glaſs, to ſuch as cannot contemplate him in his proper idea. This is an obvious and popular philoſophy, of which every man void of paſſion and prejudice is capable. The heavens, earth, ſtars, plants, animals, our bodies, our minds, all argue a mind ſuperior to us that exiſts as the ſoul of the whole world. When we conſider with ſome attention the frame and architecture of the univerſe, and the juſt proportion of all its parts, we diſcover at the firſt glance the foot-ſteps of the divinity, or, in better terms, the ſeal of God himſelf impreſſed upon all things called the works of nature.

De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 4, 5. "Can one, ſaid Balbus in the name of the "Stoics, behold heaven, and contemplate what "paſſes there, without diſcerning with all poſſible "evidence, that it is governed by a ſupreme di"vine intelligence? Whoever ſhould doubt it "might as well doubt, whether there be a ſun. "The former is more viſible than the latter. This "conviction, without the evidence that attends it, "would never have been ſo fixed and permanent: "it would not have acquired new force by length "of time; it would not have been able to reſiſt "the torrent of years, and to have paſſed through "all ages down to us.

Ib. l. 2. n. 16. "If there be, ſaid Chryſippus, things in the uni"verſe, that the wit, reaſon, ſtrength, and power

"of

" of man are not capable of effecting, the Being " that produces them is certainly better than man. " Now man could not form the heavens, nor any " thing of what we ſee invariably regular. There " is however nothing better than man, becauſe he " alone poſſeſſes reaſon, which is the moſt excellent " thing he can poſſeſs. In conſequence the Being " that made the univerſe is better than man. " Wherefore then ſhould we not ſay, that Being " is a God?"

To what blindneſs, or, more properly, to what exceſs of ſtupidity muſt men have been abandoned, who could chuſe to attribute ſuch ſtupendous and inconceivable effects to mere chance, and a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, rather than to the infinite wiſdom and power of God?

" Is it not amazing," cries Balbus in ſpeaking of Democritus, " that there ever ſhould be a man " who could perſuade himſelf, that certain ſolid " and individual bodies ſet themſelves in motion " by their natural weight, and that from their for- " tuitous concourſe a world of ſuch great beauty " was formed? Whoever believes this poſſible, " might as well believe, that, if a great number of " characters of gold, or any other ſubſtances, re- " preſenting the * one and twenty letters, were " thrown upon the ground, they might fall diſ- " poſed in ſuch order, as to form the annals of " Ennius legibly." De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 93.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of Homer's Iliad. Who could believe, ſays the Archbiſhop of Cambray, in his admirable treatiſe upon the exiſtence of God, that a poem ſo perfect was not compoſed by the efforts of a great poet's genius; but that, the

* *The preſident Boubier, in his learned diſſertation,* De priſcis Græcor. & Latin. literis, *printed at the end of Montfaucon's Antiquities, has ſhewn, that the antient Romans had only theſe ſixteen letters:* A. B. C. D. E. F. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. R. S. T. *The five others, added in the time of Cicero, were* G. Q. U. X. Z. *without reckoning* H, *which was leſs a letter, than a note of aſpiration.*

characters of the alphabet having been thrown in confuſion, a caſt of mere chance, like one of dice, diſpoſed all the letters exactly in the order neceſſary for deſcribing ſo many great events in verſes full of harmony and variety; for placing and connecting them all ſo well together; for painting each object in the moſt graceful, moſt noble, and moſt affecting colours conceivable; and, laſtly, for making each perſon ſpeak according to his character in ſo natural and pathetic a manner? Let a man reaſon and ſubtiliſe ever ſo long, he will never perſuade a perſon of ſenſe, that the Iliad had no other author but chance. Wherefore then ſhould this man of ſenſe believe of the univerſe, which without doubt is ſtill more wonderful than the Iliad, what his reaſon would never permit him to believe of that poem?

In this manner all the moſt famous ſects explained themſelves. Some philoſophers, as I have ſaid before, but very few, undertook to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt by peculiar opinions upon this ſubject. Abandoned to the feeble force of reaſon, in their attempts to fathom the nature and eſſence of the Divinity, and to explain his attributes, and without doubt dazzled with the luſtre of an object, of which the human eye cannot ſuſtain the radiance, they loſt themſelves in their inquiries, and, from doubting at firſt the exiſtence of the Divinity, proceeded ſo far by degrees as to deny it. But the people, who did not enter into theſe philoſophical ſubtilties and refinements, and adhered ſolely to immemorial tradition, and the natural notion implanted in the hearts of all men, roſe up vigorouſly againſt theſe teachers of atheiſm, and treated them as the enemies of mankind.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 63.

PROTAGORAS having begun one of his books with theſe words: *I neither know whether there are gods, nor what they are*; the Athenians baniſhed him

him not only from their city, but their territory, and cauſed his works to be publicly burnt.

DIAGORAS did not confine himſelf to doubting: he plainly denied that there were gods; which occaſioned his being ſurnamed *the Atheiſt*. He lived in the XCIſt Olympiad. It is ſaid that the fondneſs of an author, an exceſſive tenderneſs for one of his productions, drew him into impiety. He had proſecuted a poet for ſtealing a compoſition of his in verſe. The latter ſwore he had robbed him of nothing, and ſoon after publiſhed that work in his own name, which acquired him great reputation. Diagoras, ſeeing his adverſary's crime not only unpuniſhed, but honoured and rewarded, concluded that there was no providence and no gods, and wrote books to prove it. A. M. 3588. Heſych. in Διαγόρας.

The Athenians cited him to give an account of his doctrine; but he fled, upon which they ſet a price upon his head. They cauſed a talent (about 150l. ſterling) to be promiſed by ſound of trumpet to whoever ſhould kill him, and two to ſuch as ſhould bring him alive, and cauſed that decree to be engraved upon a pillar of braſs.

THEODORUS of Cyrene denied alſo the exiſtence of gods without reſtriction. He would have been brought to the tribunal of the Areopagus, if Demetrius Phalereus, who at that time ruled every thing at Athens, had not favoured his eſcape. His moral tenets were worthy of an atheiſt. He taught that all things are indifferent, and that there is nothing in its own nature either vice or virtue. His impiety drew him into trouble wherever he went, and he was at laſt condemned to poiſon himſelf. A. M. 3684. Diog. Laert. l. 2. in Ariſtip.

The juſt * ſeverity of the Athenians, who puniſhed even doubting upon this head, as we have ſeen in the caſe of Protagoras, highly contributed to

* Ex quo equidem exiſtimo, tardiores ad hanc ſententiam profitendam multos eſſe factos, quippè cùm pœnam ne dubitatio quidem effugere potuiſſet. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 63.

put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of opinions, and the progreſs of impiety. The Stoics * carried their reſpect for religion ſo far in this point, that they treated the cuſtom of diſputing againſt the exiſtence of the gods as criminal and impious, whether it was done ſeriouſly, or merely for the ſake of converſation, and againſt one's opinion.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the nature of the Divinity.*

A Brief enumeration of all the chimeras advanced by the philoſophers upon this ſubject will convince us better than any other arguments of the incapacity of human reaſon to attain to ſuch ſublime truths by its own ſtrength. I ſhall extract this detail from Cicero's books *upon the nature of the gods.* The remarks and reflections with which the Abbé Olivet of the French academy has interſperſed his excellent tranſlation of thoſe books of Cicero, will be great helps to me, and I ſhall ſcarce do more than copy and abridge them.

As the antient philoſopers ſtudied the nature of the gods only with relation to ſenſible things, whoſe origin and formation they endeavoured to comprehend, and as the different manners, in which they diſpoſed the ſyſtem of the univerſe, occaſioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity, we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find thoſe two ſubjects often united and confounded in this place.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 25. THALES of Miletus ſaid, *That water was the principle of all things, and that God is that intelligence, by whom all things are formed out of water.* He ſpoke of an intelligence, that making only one whole with matter directed its operations; in the ſame manner as the ſoul, which united with the

* Mala & impia conſuetudo eſt contra deos diſputandi, ſive animo id ſit ſive ſimulate. *Ibid.* l. 2. n. 168.

body

body makes only one and the ſame man, is ſaid to direct the actions of man.

ANAXIMANDER believed, *That the gods receive being, that they are born and die at remote periods of time, and that they are innumerable worlds.* Theſe gods of Anaximander were the ſtars. De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 25.

ANAXIMENES affirmed, *That the air is god, that it is produced, that it is immenſe and infinite, and that it is always in motion.* This opinion of Anaximenes, at bottom, differs in nothing from thoſe that precede it. He retained the idea of a ſole, and infinitely extended, ſubſtance from his maſter Anaximander: but he called it air, as Thales had called it water. Ibid. n. 26.

ANAXAGORAS, the pupil of Anaximenes, was the author of this opinion, *That the ſyſtem and order of the univerſe were to be attributed to the power and wiſdom of an infinite mind.* Anaxagoras lived only an age after Thales. The notions of philoſophy began to clear up. The neceſſity of an efficient cauſe, ſubſtantially diſtinct from the material one, was perceived. But to this infinite mind he attributes only the order and motion, not the creation of the univerſe. The co-eternity of the two principles independent of each other, as to their exiſtence, is the rock, on which he with all the antient philoſophers ſplit. Ibid.

PYTHAGORAS believed, *that God is a ſoul diffuſed throughout all the beings of nature, and from which the ſouls of men are derived.* Virgil has admirably deſcribed the doctrine of this philoſopher: Ibid. n. 27.

*Eſſe apibus partem divinæ mentis, & hauſtus*
*Aethereos dixere: deum namque ire per omnes*
*Terraſque, tractuſque maris, cœlumque profundum.*
*Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum*
*Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.*

Georg. l. 4.

Pythagoras lived at leaſt fifty years before Anaxagoras. The latter therefore is not the firſt who had the idea of a pure ſpirit; or Pythagoras muſt be ſaid to have confounded it with matter.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 28. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 118. XENOPHANES ſaid, *That God is an infinite whole, to which he adds an intelligence.* The ſame philoſopher ſays elſewhere, *That God is an eternal ſubſtance —and of a round figure*, by which he underſtands the world. He therefore believed this God material.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 28. PARMENIDES did not differ in his opinions from his maſter Xenophanes, though he expreſſed himſelf in different terms.

Ibid. n. 29. EMPEDOCLES. According to him, *the four elements, of which he affirms all things to be compoſed, are divine*, that is to ſay, gods. It is however manifeſt, that they are mixed, that they have a beginning, and periſh, and that they are void of thought.

Ibid. DEMOCRITUS *gives the quality of gods as well to the images of ſenſible objects, as to nature which ſupplies thoſe images, and to our knowledge and underſtanding.* What he called gods were atoms. To ſpeak properly, he believed nothing. *I deny*, ſaid he, *that we either know any thing, or nothing. I deny that we know even whether we know that. I deny that we know whether any thing exiſts, or whether nothing exiſts.* A worthy member of the Eleatic ſect, whoſe favourite maxim was the *Acatalepſy*, or the abſolute incomprehenſibility of all things. This ſect, which acknowledged Xenophanes for its founder, formed unbelieving Protagoras, and gave birth to that of Pyrrho.

Acad. Quæſt. l. 4. n. 73.

PLATO. It appears from all his works, that he had very juſt thoughts of the Divinity, but that he was afraid to explain himſelf freely in a city, and at a time, wherein it was dangerous to claſh with the prevailing opinions. *In the Timæus* he ſays, *that the father of the world could not be named*; *and in his books* de legibus, *that we ſhould not be curious to know properly what God is. He ſuppoſes him incorporeal.*

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 39.

He

He attributes the formation of the univerſe to him: *Opificem ædificatoremque mundi.* He ſays alſo, *that the world, the heavens, the ſtars, the earth, ſouls, and thoſe to whom the religion of our forefathers aſcribes Divinity; all this, he ſays, is God.* Plato's opinion at bottom, notwithſtanding the appearance of Polytheiſm, is, that there is but one moſt good and moſt perfect God, who made all things according to the idea of the beſt work poſſible. De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 18. Ibid. n. 30.

ANTISTHENES ſays, *That there are many gods adored by the nations of the earth, but that there is but one natural God,* that is to ſay, as Lactantius explains it, author of all nature. Ibid. n. 32. Inſtit. divin. l. 1. n. 33.

ARISTOTLE differs exceedingly from himſelf. *Sometimes he affirms that the whole Divinity reſides in intelligence,* that is to ſay, in the intelligent principle, by which all thinking beings think. *Sometimes that the world is God. He afterwards diſcovers ſome other being, who is above the world, and who takes care to direct and preſerve its motion. He elſewhere teaches that God is nothing elſe but the fire that ſhines in the heavens.* De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 33.

XENOCRATES ſays, *that there are eight gods. The planets are five of them, and all the fixed ſtars together, as ſo many ſcattered members of the ſame body, make but one. The ſun is the ſeventh; and, laſt of all, the moon the eighth.* Ibid. n. 34.

THEOPHRASTUS *in one paſſage attributes ſupreme Divinity to intelligence; in another to the heavens in general; and afterwards to the planets in particular.* Ibid. n. 35.

STRATO ſays, *that there is no other God but nature: and that nature is the principle of all productions and all mutations.* Ibid.

ZENO, the founder of the famous ſect of the Stoics. We ought to expect ſomething great concerning the Divinity from him. The following is the ſum of his theology, extracted principally from Cicero's ſecond book *De natura deorum,* in which his opinions are explained with great extent.

That

That the four elements alone compoſe the whole Univerſe. That theſe four elements make but one continued nature, without diviſion. That abſolutely no other ſubſtance exiſts, beſides theſe four elements. That the ſource of intelligence, and of all ſouls, is the fire united in the Æther, where its purity ſuffers no alteration, becauſe the other elements do not mingle with it. That this intelligent, active, vital fire penetrates the whole univerſe. That, as intelligence is its property diſtinctly from the other elements, it is deemed to operate all things. That it proceeds methodically to generation, that is to ſay, it produces all things, not blindly and by chance, but according to certain rules always the ſame. That, being the ſoul of the univerſe, it cauſes it to ſubſiſt, and governs it with wiſdom, becauſe it is the principle of all wiſdom. That conſequently it is God. That he gives the ſame denomination to Nature, with which it is one and the ſame, and to the Univerſe, of which it is part. That the ſun, moon, and all the ſtars, as they are bodies of fire, are gods. That all things, wherein any ſingular efficacy reſides, and wherein this active principle manifeſts itſelf clearly, deſerve the name of Divinities. That the ſame title ought alſo to be given to great men, in whoſe ſouls this divine fire brightens with uncommon luſtre. And, laſtly, that in whatſoever manner this ſoul of the univerſe is repreſented to us, and whatever names cuſtom has given it in reſpect to the different parts it animates, religious worſhip is due to it.

I am tired with repeating ſo many abſurdities, and the reader no doubt as much as me, if he has had patience enough to read them to the end. He ought not to expect to ſee living lights ſhine out from the darkneſs of Paganiſm, upon a ſubject ſo infinitely ſuperior to the weakneſs of human wit, as the nature of the Divinity. The philoſophers might indeed, by the pure ſtrength of reaſon, have convinced

vinced themſelves of the neceſſity and exiſtence of a divine Being. Some of them, however, as * Epicurus, have been ſuſpected of concealing real atheiſm under the veil of ſpecious words: at leaſt they diſhonoured the Divinity almoſt as much by the mean ideas they conceived of him, as they would have done, had they abſolutely denied him.

As to what regards the eſſence of the divine nature, they were all widely miſtaken. And how ſhould it have been otherwiſe, as men know no more of God, than he is pleaſed to reveal to them? The Abbé Olivet, in his diſſertation upon the theology of the philoſophers, reduces their ſentiments to three general ſyſtems, which include all the particular opinions given us by Cicero in his books upon the nature of the gods. The different manner, in which thoſe philoſophers diſpoſed the ſyſtem of the univerſe, occaſioned their different beliefs concerning the Divinity.

Some of them believed, that mere matter alone, without thought or reaſon, was capable of forming the world: whether one of the elements produced all the reſt by different degrees of rarefaction and condenſation, as it appears that Anaximenes believed, or that, matter being divided into an infinity of moving corpuſcles, thoſe corpuſcles aſſumed regular forms in conſequence of fluttering accidentally to and fro in the Void, as Epicurus believed: or that all the parts of matter had an intrinſic gravity, which gave them a neceſſary direction, according to Strato's opinion. Now the atheiſm of theſe philoſophers is manifeſtly of the greateſt kind, becauſe they acknowledge no other firſt cauſe but inanimate matter.

Others roſe to this notion, that the order of the world was too exquiſite not to be the effect of an De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 28.

* Nonnullis videtur Epicurus, ne in offenſionem Atheniensium caderet, verbis reliquiſſe deos, re ſuſtuliſſe. *Lib. 1. de nat. deor.* n. 85.

In-

Intelligent Cauſe. But, not conceiving any thing immaterial, they believed Intelligence a part of matter, and aſcribed that perfection to the fire of the Æther, which they conſidered as the ocean of all ſouls. This was the opinion of the Stoics; with whom may be joined Thales, and even Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Democritus, who admitted, as well as they, an univerſal intelligent matter.

And, laſtly, others comprehended, that intelligence could not be material, and that it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh it abſolutely from whatever is corporeal. But at the ſame time they believed, that bodies exiſted independently of that intelligence, and that its power extended no farther than to diſpoſe them in order, and to animate them. This was the opinion of Anaxagoras and Plato: an opinion much leſs imperfect than that of the others, as it includes the idea of ſpirit, and really diſtinguiſhes the cauſe from the effect, the agent from matter; but ſtill infinitely remote from truth.

As to the other two claſſes of philoſophers, who admitted no principles but ſuch as were material, they are abſolutely inexcuſable, and differ only in their blindneſs, as being more or leſs blind. What we read in the book of Wiſdom may be well applied to them:—*Vain are all men by nature, who are ignorant of God, and could not, out of the good things that are ſeen, know him that is: neither, by conſidering the works, did they acknowledge the workmaſter, but deemed either fire, or wind, or the ſwift air, or the circle of the ſtars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world.*

Wiſd. xiii. 1, 2.

I ſpeak here only of the gods peculiarly acknowledged as ſuch by the philoſophers. Varro diſtinguiſhed three kinds of theologies. *The Fabulous*, which was that of the poets: *The Natural*, taught by the philoſophers: and *the Civil* or political, which was that eſtabliſhed by the ſtate, and in uſe amongſt

S. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei l. 6. c. 5.

amongſt the people. The firſt and the laſt either aſcribed, or ſuffered to be aſcribed to the gods, all the paſſions and vices of men, and the moſt abominable crimes. The ſecond ſeemed leſs void of reaſon, but at bottom was ſcarce any thing more religious, and included abſurdities that diſgrace human underſtanding.

Cicero, * in his third book upon the nature of the gods, ſets all theſe abſurdities in their full light. He did not know enough to eſtabliſh true religion; but he knew enough to refute the Stoics and Epicureans, the only perſons that roſe up againſt St. Paul, when he preached at Athens. The mere light of nature might ſuffice him for ſubverting falſhood, but could not guide him to the diſcovery of the truth. We here diſcern the weakneſs of human reaſon, and the vain efforts that it makes alone, to raiſe itſelf up to the exact knowledge of a God truly † hidden, and who dwells ‡ in inacceſſible light. What progreſs in this reſpect has this proud reaſon been capable of making, during above four ages, in the beſt heads of Greece, in the moſt illuſtrious of the Pagans for their learning, and the chiefs of their moſt famous ſchools? There is ‖ nothing ſo abſurd, that has not been advanced by ſome philoſopher.

And farther. Such of them as profeſſed an higher degree of wiſdom, and to whom God had manifeſted his unity, did they not keep this knowledge a ſecret through an ungrateful and abject cowardice? Did one of them riſe up againſt the im-

* Tullius, tertio de natura deorum libro, diſſolvit publicas religiones: ſed tamen veram, quam ignorabat, nec ipſe, nec alius quiſquam potuit inducere. Adeo & ipſe teſtatus eſt falſum quidem apparere, veritatem tamen latere. *Lactant. de ira Dei, c.* 11.

† *Verily thou art a God that hideſt thyſelf, O God of Iſrael the Saviour.* Iſai. xlv. 15.

‡ *Dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto.* 1 Tim vi. 16.

‖ Neſcio quomodo nihil tam abſurdè dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philoſophorum. *Cic. Divin.* l. 2. n. 19.

piety,

piety, which had ſubſtituted mute idols, and figures not only of men, but of beaſts and reptiles, to the true and living God? Did one of them refrain from going to the temples, though he did not approve in his heart the ſuperſtitious worſhip, which he authoriſed by his preſence and example? The only one, whoſe religion was put to the trial, did he not treat thoſe, who accuſed him of not adoring the gods worſhipped by the Athenians, as falſe accuſers? His Apologiſt, who was alſo his diſciple and friend, does he defend him in any other manner, than by affirming, that he always acknowledged the ſame divinities as the people? And is not Plato himſelf obliged to own, that this mean prevaricator ordered an impious ſacrifice, even when certain of immediate death? A ſmall extract from one of Plato's letters ſhews us how much he was afraid to explain himſelf upon the nature and unity of God, and in conſequence how far he was from rendering him thanks, from confeſſing him before men, and from expoſing himſelf to the leaſt danger in bearing witneſs of him. The ſhameful actions attributed to the falſe gods made him bluſh: but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that either they were not guilty of thoſe crimes, or were not gods if they had committed them; without daring to ſay, that there was but ONE GOD, and without having the courage to riſe up againſt the public worſhip, founded upon the very crimes he conſidered with horror.

Scholas habebant privatas, & templa communia. S. Auguſt.

Socrates.

Xenophon.

Epiſt. Plat. ad Dion.

Plat. de Repub. l. 3.

It muſt be ſaid, to the ſhame of Paganiſm, and the glory of the Goſpel, that a child amongſt us, with the leaſt inſtruction in the cathechiſm, is more certain and more knowing in reſpect to every thing neceſſary for us to know of the Divinity, than all the philoſophers together.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

*Whether the Divinity preſides over the government of the world? Whether mankind be his peculiar care?*

THE diſpute of the antient philoſophers concerning providence was, whether the gods preſided in the government of the world in general, and whether they deſcended to a particular care of every individual of mankind. Epicurus was almoſt the only one that denied this truth.

"It is aſked, ſaid he, in what manner do the "gods live, and how do they employ themſelves? "Their life is the moſt happy, and the moſt deli- "cious imaginable. A god does nothing: he di- "ſturbs himſelf with no kind of care: he under- "takes nothing. His wiſdom and virtue form his "joy. The pleaſures he taſtes, pleaſures that "can admit of no increaſe, he is ſure of enjoying "for ever. De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 51, 54.

"This," continues he, addreſſing himſelf to Balbus, who ſuſtained the opinion of the Stoics, "this is an happy god. But, as for yours, he is "overwhelmed with cares and labour. For, if "you believe, that this god is the world itſelf, "turning inceſſantly as it does round the axis of "the heavens, and that too with ſurpriſing rapi- "dity, is it poſſible for him to have a moment's "reſt? Now, without reſt, there is no felicity. *The ſyſtem of the Stoics.*

"To pretend that there is a God in the world who "governs it, who preſides over the courſe of the "ſtars, and the revolutions of the ſeaſons, who "regulates and diſpoſes all things, who has his "eye upon the land and ſea, who makes the lives "of men his concern, and who provides for their "occaſions; all this is certainly giving him very "ſevere and laborious employments. Now to be "happy, according to us, it is neceſſary to poſ- "ſeſs tranquillity of mind, and to be entirely at "leiſure. *Plato's ſyſtem.*

" leiſure. * Beſides, you ſet an eternal maſter " over our heads, of whom we are to be day and " night continually in dread. For how is it poſ- " ſible not to fear a God, who foreſees all things, " whoſe thoughts extend to all things, who ob- " ſerves all things, who believes all things relate " to him, who interferes in all things, and who is " never without employment?" The great maxim of Epicurus was therefore, † *That an happy and immortal being had neither any thing to do himſelf, nor occaſioned employment for others.*

So impious a doctrine, which openly denies providence, deſerved an Epicurus for its advocate and defender. And it muſt be owned, that what he ſays of a god who ſees and knows all things, and who in conſequence muſt puniſh whatever is contrary to the law of heaven, is the ſole reaſon which to this day induces ſome perſons to believe, there is no providence that watches over all the actions of men, or rather to deſire it.

De nat. deor. l. 1. n. 115, 116.

" It is not without reaſon that this doctrine oc- " caſioned Epicurus to be conſidered as a declared " enemy of the gods, who undermined all religion, " and who, by his reaſonings, as Xerxes by his " troops, levelled their temples and altars. For, " after all, what reaſon, ſays Cotta, ſhould oblige " us to have any thoughts of the gods, as they " have none of us, and abſolutely neither take care " of, nor do, any thing?—To be bound to expreſs " piety for them, would it not be neceſſary to have " received graces from them? For wherein is a " perſon obliged to thoſe who have done nothing " for him? Piety is a juſtice paid by man to the

* Itaque impoſuiſtis in cervicibus noſtris ſempiternum dominum, quem dies & noctes timeremus. Quis enim non timeat omnia providentem, & cogitantem & animadvertentem, & omnia ad ſe pertinere putantem, curioſum & plenum negotii deum?

† Quod æternum beatumque ſit, id nec habere ipſum negotii quidquam, nec exhibere alteri. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 45.

" gods,

" gods. Now, as your gods have no relation to " us, what can they require from us?"

The prayers made to the Divinity in diſtreſs and danger, the vows made to him for the attainment of certain graces, the promiſes and oaths of which he is taken for witneſs, uſes common to all nations and practiſed in all times, ſhew that mankind had always Providence in their thoughts. To conſult only our own reaſon, ſuch as ſin has left it, that is to ſay, our pride and darkneſs, we ſhould be tempted to believe, that it is not treating the Divinity with ſufficient reſpect to make him deſcend thus to little circumſtances, in repreſenting to him all our wants; to ſtipulate conditions with him, if he vouchſafes to hear them; and to make him intervene in our tranſactions and engagements. God has thought fit by theſe different methods to preſerve in the minds of all people a clear idea of his Providence, of the care he takes of all mankind in particular, of the ſupreme authority that he retains over all the events of their lives, of his attention in examining whether they have faithfully kept their promiſes, and of that he will have in puniſhing the violation of them.

And indeed we ſee that theſe truths have always been conſidered as the firmeſt foundations of human ſociety. * *Above all*, ſays Cicero, in laying down rules for a wiſe government, *we ought to be fully convinced, that the gods are the ſupreme lords and rulers of all things; that whatever paſſes in the univerſe, is directed by their will and power: that they delight in doing good to mankind; that they attentively examine what every one is, what he thinks, how he acts, and with what piety, and what ſentiments, he*

* Sit igitur hoc jam à principio perſuaſum civibus, dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores deos; eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine: eoſdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; & quales quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. *De Leg.* l. 2. n. 15.

*practiſes the duties of religion: and laſtly, that they make a great difference between the good and the wicked.*

* This paſſage ſhews us, that the Pagans not only attributed the univerſal government of the world to the Divinity, but were convinced, that he deſcended to the moſt minute particulars, and that not any of mankind, not an action, or even a thought, eſcaped his attention and knowledge.

The Epicureans could not ſupport the idea of a God ſo near, ſo attentive to them, and of ſuch piercing ſight. He is ſupremely happy, ſaid they, and conſequently enjoys infinite tranquillity. He is void of anger and paſſion. Every thing is indifferent to him, except repoſe. This is what perſons abandoned to their pleaſures are ſtill fond of perſuading themſelves, in order to avoid the importunate reproaches of conſcience. They are willing to allow in God a general care of his creatures, and a goodneſs like that of princes, who govern their dominions with wiſdom, but who do not enter into particulars, nor deſcend to love their ſubjects, and diſtinguiſh any of them by their peculiar regard.

Pſ. xxxiii. v. 13, 14. David did not think in this manner: *The Lord looketh from heaven: he beholdeth all the ſons of men. From the place of his habitation, he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He faſhioneth their hearts alike: he conſidereth all their works.* In beholding all mankind from heaven, he does not examine them with a general and confuſed view. Every individual is as preſent to him, as if he were attentive to no other object. He does not ſee him as from a great diſtance, but as immediately before his eyes. He does not conſider only his outſide, but penetrates into whatever is moſt ſecret and retired within him. He does not only interrogate his heart, but dwells in it, and is more preſent

Mr. Du Guet.

* Nec verò univerſo generi hominum ſolùm, ſed etiam ſingulis à diis immortalibus conſuli & provideri ſolet. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. [illegible] 163.

and intimate there, than the heart itſelf. In the infinite multitude of men, that have been and now are, nothing eſcapes either his ſight or his remembrance. This knowledge and attention, which are as incomprehenſible as his being, are natural effects of his being the Creator of all things, and of the heart as well as all the reſt: *Who faſhioneth their hearts,—who conſidereth all their works.*

## ARTICLE II.

### *Of the formation of the world.*

I Shall not tire the reader a ſecond time with a particular account in this place of the various ſyſtems of the antient philoſophers concerning the formation of the world, which vary infinitely, and are ſome more abſurd than others. I ſhall ſcarce ſpeak of any of them, except thoſe of the Stoics and Epicureans, whoſe ſyſtems upon this ſubject are moſt known and celebrated. It is not my deſign to enter very deeply into them, but to give only a general idea of them.

### SECT. I.

#### *Syſtem of the Stoics concerning the formation of the world.*

ACCORDING to the Stoics, the intelligent part of nature only ſet the material and non-intelligent part of it in motion, which as well as itſelf had exiſted from all eternity. This appears very clearly from one paſſage of Cicero, not to mention abundance more. To obviate and remove the objections that might be made againſt Providence, in reſpect to ſeveral things either uſeleſs or pernicious, with which the world abounds, the Stoics replied, * *Nature has made the beſt uſe ſhe could of*

* Ex iis naturis quæ erant, quod effici potuit optimum, effectum *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 86.

*the elements that exiſted.* Could the pre-exiſtence of matter be more expreſsly implied? Ariſtotle, and many other philoſophers, were alſo of the ſame opinion. * What the Stoics called *the ſoul of the world*, was that Intelligence, that Reaſon, which they believed diffuſed throughout nature. And what was this intelligent, ſenſitive, rational principle? Why, nothing but the Ætherial fire, which penetrates all bodies: or rather nothing but mechanic laws, which they aſcribed principally to the celeſtial fire, and according to which every thing was formed, and every thing acted neceſſarily.

Ariſt. Phyſic. l. 8.

Accordingly † Zeno defined nature *a fire of ſubtle art, which proceeded methodically to generation.* For he believed the action of *creating* and generating peculiar to art.

Cicero uſes the term *create* in this place, which might give reaſon to believe, that he knew and admitted the action of producing out of nothing, which is *creation* in the ſtrict ſenſe of the term. ‡ But he uſes the ſame word in many other places to expreſs a ſimple production; and none of his works give the leaſt room to believe, that he had ſo ſingular a notion, as that of *creation* properly ſo called. As much may be ſaid of all the antients who have treated on Phyſics, as Cicero expreſsly ſhews: *Exit aliquid quod ex nihilo oriatur, aut in nihilum ſubito occidat? Quis hoc Phyſicus dixit unquam?* It was a received principle with all the philoſophers,

Lib. 2. de Divinit.

* In natura ſentiente ratio perfecta ineſt, quam vim animum dicunt eſſe mundi. *Acad. Quæſt.* l. 1. n. 28, 29.

† Zeno ita naturam definit, ut eam dicat *ignem eſſe artificioſum ad gignendum progredientem via.* Cenſet enim artis maximè proprium eſſe *creare* & gignere. *De nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 57.

‡ Natura fingit homines & *creat* imitatores & narratores facetos. 2. *de Orat.* n. 219.

Omnium rerum quas & *creat* natura & tuetur, ſummum bonum eſt in corpore. *De Finib.* l. 5. n. 38.

Quæ in terris gignuntur omnia ad uſum hominum *creantur*. *Offic.* l. 1. n. 22.

that matter neither could be produced from, nor reduced to, nothing:

*De nihilo nihil, in nihilum nil posse reverti.*
Pers. Sat. 3.

Epicurus in expreſs terms denies this power to the Divinity:

*Nullam rem è nihilo gigni divinitus unquam.*

Lactantius has preſerved a fragment of Cicero's books *De natura Deorum*, which cannot be applied with certainty to the ſyſtem of the Stoics; becauſe, as it is detached, it does not entirely appear of which ſect of philoſophers it is to be underſtood. However it ſeems very proper to explain what they thought concerning the formation of the world. I ſhall inſert it here at length. * *It is not probable*, ſays the ſpeaker, *that matter, from which all things derived their origin, was itſelf formed by the divine Providence; but rather, that it has, and always had an intrinſic and natural force*, which renders all its modifications poſſible to it. *As a workman therefore, when he works upon a building, does not produce the matter for it himſelf, but uſes that he finds ready made; and as he who forms a figure of wax, finds the wax produced to his hand: ſo the divine Providence muſt have had a matter, not that it had produced itſelf, but which it found in a manner at hand*, and prepared for its deſigns. *That, if God did not produce the* firſt *matter, it cannot be ſaid that he produced either earth, air, fire, or water.* Lact. Div. Inſtit. l. 2. c. 8.

The compariſon of the architect and the ſtatuary is entirely proper for explaining the ſyſtem of the

* Non eſt probabile, eam materiam rerum, unde orta ſunt omnia, eſſe divina providentia effectam; ſed habere & habuiſſe vim & naturam ſuam. Ut igitur faber, cùm quid ædificaturus eſt, non ipſe facit materiam, ſed ea utitur quæ ſit parata, fictorque item cerae: ſic providentiæ divinæ materiam præſto eſſe oportuit, non quam faceret, ſed quam haberet paratam. Quòd ſi non eſt à Deo materia facta, ne terra quidem, & aqua, & aer, & ignis à Deo factus eſt.

Stoics. Their god, (whom Cicero calls the divine Providence in this place) and which is only the *Æther*, as we have observed, did not create, that is, produce the matter of which the world is formed out of nothing; but he modified it, and, in disposing the parts of matter before in confusion, he made earth, air, water, and that gross fire which we know: that is to say, he gave them the form and disposition in which we see them.

The * workman, says Lactantius in the passage I have just cited, cannot build without wood, because he is not capable of producing it of himself; and of that he is incapable as he is man, that is to say, weakness itself. But God produces all that he pleases out of nothing, because he is God, that is to say, power itself that knows neither measure nor bounds. For, if he is not omnipotent, he is not God.

## SECT. II.

*System of the Epicureans concerning the formation of the world.*

Plut. de placit. Philos. l. 2. c. 1.

IN the system of the Epicureans (and the Stoics were of the same opinion in this point) these two words, *World and Universe*, had a different signification. By the *World* they understood the heavens and the earth, and all they contained; and by the *Universe*, not only the heavens and the earth with all they contain, but also the infinite void, which they supposed beyond the world. For they believed the world full and limited, *(or a limited plenum:)* but they supposed it surrounded on all sides with an in-

* Faber sine ligno nihil ædificabit, quia lignum ipsum facere non potest: non posse autem, imbecillitatis est humanæ. Deus verò facit sibi ipse materiam, quia potest; posse enim, Dei est: nam, si non potest, Deus non est. Homo facit ex eo quod est, quia per mortalitatem imbecillis est; per imbecillitatem, definitæ, ac modicæ potestatis. Deus autem facit ex eo quod non est, quia per æternitatem fortis est, per fortitudinem potestatis immensæ, quæ sine ac[illegible]do caret sicut vita factoris. *Lactant.* ibid. c. 10.

finit

finite, and abſolutely void, ſpace. Accordingly* they divided all nature, the whole univerſe, into two parts: bodies and *ſpace*, or *void:*

*Omnis ut eſt igitur per ſe Natura duabus*
*Conſiſtit rebus, quæ Corpora ſunt & Inane.*
Lucret. l. 2.

This diſtinction is neceſſary for underſtanding the ſyſtem of the Epicureans. For they ſuppoſed, as a certain principle, that, without the *Vacuum*, there could not have been any motion or even production in the world:

*Quæ, ſi non eſſet Inane,*
*Non tam ſollicito motu privata carerent,*
*Quàm genita omnino nulla ratione fuiſſent:*
*Undique materies quoniam ſtipata fuiſſet.* Ib. l. 1.

According to the Epicureans, the fortuitous concourſe of atoms formed the world.

*Atom* is a Greek word, which ſignifies *indiviſible*. It is a corpuſcle of every kind of figure, from numbers of which all other bodies are formed. Atoms are not the objects of the ſenſes through their extreme ſmallneſs, which makes them imperceptible.

Moſchus the Phœnician, Leucippus, † and Democritus, were the firſt philoſophers, who advanced the doctrine of atoms. They ſuppoſe that, of theſe little corpuſcles, ſome are ſmooth, ſome rough, ſome round, ſome angular, and others curve, and in a manner hooked; and that heaven and earth were formed by the fortuitous concourſe of theſe atoms.

* Sunt qui omnia Naturæ nomine appellent, ut Epicurus, qui ita dividit: Omnia, quæ ſecundùm Naturam, eſſe Corpora & Inane. 2. *De nat. deor.* n. 82.

† Iſta flagitia Democriti, ſive etiam antè Leucippi, eſſe corpuſcula quædam lævia, alia aſpera, rotunda alia, partim autem angulata, curvata quædam & quaſi aduncæ: ex his effectum eſſe cœlum atque terram, nulla cogente natura, ſed concurſu quodam fortuito. *De nat. deor.* l. 1. n. 66.

But Epicurus particularly inſiſted upon this doctrine, which he placed in honour, * introducing however ſome alterations in it, by which Cicero affirms, that he only ſpoiled the doctrine of Democritus, inſtead of correcting and improving it.

De Finib. l. 2. n. 17—18. Democritus places atoms in an infinite ſpace, without either middle or extremities. There, in motion from all eternity, they unite and adhere to each other, and, by ſuch meeting and concourſe, form the world as we ſee it. Cicero cannot bear that a philoſopher, in explaining the formation of the world, ſhould ſpeak only of the Material, without ſaying a word of the Efficient cauſe. And, indeed, what an abſurdity is it to ſuppoſe, that certain ſolid and indiviſible bodies move of themſelves from all eternity by their natural weight! This Democritus holds as well as Epicurus; for the latter alſo gave his atoms a natural and intrinſic activity, which ſufficed to put them in motion: but he differed from the former in other points.

De Finib. l. 2. n. 18—20. "Epicurus pretends indeed, that atoms tend of "themſelves directly downwards, which motion "he ſays is that of all bodies. Afterwards coming "to reflect, that, if all atoms tended continually "downwards in a direct line, and by a perpendi- "cular motion, it would never be poſſible for one "of them to touch another, he ſubtly imagined "a declination or obliquity in their motion, by the "means of which the atoms, ſtriking againſt each "other, blend and hook themſelves together, and "form the world, with all the parts that compoſe "it. Thus, by a mere fiction, he gives them, at "the ſame time, a ſlight declination or obliquity "of motion, without alledging any cauſe for it, "which is ſhameful to a natural philoſopher; and "deprives them alſo without any cauſe of the di- "rect motion downwards, *which he had adv*[illegible]

* Democrito adjicit, perpauca mutans, ſed ita ut ea, quæ [illegible] gere vult, mihi quidem depravare videatur. *De Finib.* l. 1. n. 17. "

" as the law or tendency of all bodies. However, " with all the ſuppoſitions he invents he does not " effect what he pretends. For, if all atoms have " an equal declination or obliquity of motion, they " will never adhere to each other. And if ſome " have it, and not others, to give theſe a direct, and " thoſe an oblique, motion, is giving them diffe- " rent employments upon truſt and at a venture. " With all this, it would not ceaſe to be impoſſible " for ſuch a fortuitous claſh or concourſe of atoms " ever to produce the order and beauty of the " univerſe.

" If the fortuitous concourſe of atoms, ſays Ci- " cero elſewhere, is capable of forming the world, " why will it not as well form a portico, a temple, " an houſe, or a city; works of much leſs diffi- " culty? * To reaſon in ſo abſurd a manner, one " would think, that theſe philoſophers had never " once looked up towards the heavens, nor beheld " all their wonderous and various beauties." De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 94.

The doctrine of void had induced Epicurus, as well as ſome other philoſophers, to ſuppoſe a plurality of worlds, formed, as well as this we inhabit, by the fortuitous concourſe of atoms:

*Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare neceſſe eſt*
*Eſſe alios alibi congreſſus materiai,*
*Qualis hic eſt, avido complexu quem tenet æther.*
Lucret. l. 2.

Gaſſendi conſiders this opinion as contrary not only to the holy Scriptures, which mention no plurality of worlds, and ſeem to ſuppoſe only one; but alſo to that of the greateſt philoſophers, as Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, Zeno the Stoic, and many others. He owns however it cannot be demonſtrated, that there are

* Certe ita temerè de mundo effutiunt, ut mihi quidem nunquam admirabilem cœli ornatum, qui locus eſt proximus, ſuſpexiſſe videantur.

not

not other worlds beſides this, becauſe it is in the power of God to create as many as he pleaſes: but that it would be contrary to reaſon to affirm actually that there are more, becauſe God has not revealed that to us.

## SECT. III.

### *Plato's fine thought of the formation of the world.*

I Do not undertake to examine what Plato's opinions were concerning the formation of the world, which would require infinite diſcuſſion. He ſometimes calls matter *eternal*; by which he does not underſtand that it ſubſiſted viſibly from all eternity, but that it ſubſiſted intellectually in the eternal idea of God. This is what he means, when he ſays, *the * Exemplar or Model of the world is from all eternity.*

Plat. in Timæo. p. 38.

Some lines before he has the thought of which I ſpeak in this place: † *God, conſidering his work, and finding it perfectly conformable to his idea and original, rejoiced and in ſome meaſure applauded himſelf.*

Ibid. p. 37.

What Plato ſays here, that God formed the world according to the exemplar he had conceived of it in himſelf, is very remarkable. As a ſkilful workman has the whole diſpoſition and form of his work in his head before he begins it, and works according to thoſe ideas, ſo that what he executes may be ſaid to be only a copy of the original he has before imagined, every work that ſubſiſts being pure imitation; in like manner God, in creating the world, only executed the idea he had conceived of it from all eternity. For the world, and all that it contains, exiſted intellectually in God, before it exiſted really in nature. Theſe are Plato's

* Τὸ παράδειγμα, πάντα αἰῶνα ἐσ[illegible] ὄν.

† Ἡγάσθη τι, καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς, ἔτι δὴ μᾶλλον ὅμοιον πρὸς τ[illegible]α, παράδειγμα ἐπενόησεν ἀπεργάσασθαι.

ideas, which he might very poſſibly have extracted from the * Scriptures, where we find that God gives Moſes models of all the works it is his will that prophet ſhould execute. What is ſaid in Geneſis of God's firſt approbation of his works as they came from his hands, and afterwards of them all in general, when he had finiſhed them, might more immediately have ſupplied Plato with that ſublime idea of the eternal exemplars upon which the world was formed. For theſe words, *And God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good,* ſignify, as the new interpreter of Geneſis obſerves, Gen. i. 31. Mr. du Guet.

"That God, conſidering all his works at one view, "and comparing them with each other, and with "the eternal model of which they are the expreſ- "ſion, found their beauty and perfection moſt ex- "cellent."

In the little I have now ſaid of Plato's opinions concerning the formation of the world, may be ſeen how much he roſe upon the phyſical principles which he might before have taken from Heraclitus.

The deſign of God, in ſetting before our eyes the infinite wonders of the world, was to make us diſcern, in the motion of all the parts of the univerſe, their relation to each other, and the concert between them, HIM who has created, and who governs them. He has every-where placed footſteps of himſelf. He has concealed and veiled himſelf under the objects of nature; but thoſe objects are ſo beautiful and grand, that they reveal the wiſdom which formed, and directs them in a thouſand different manners. How therefore could it poſſibly happen, that men, conſidered as the ſole Sages of the earth, ſhould be ſo blind and ſtupid as to attribute ſuch wonderful effects to chance, deſtiny, matter, and the ſimple combination of the laws of

* *Some have believed, that he had ſeen them during his travels.*

motion,

motion without God's having any other part in them, than to obey thoſe laws? What is the wit of man abandoned to its own darkneſs? The firſt words in the moſt antient book in the world reveal to us this great truth: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* Theſe few words fix plainly, by the authority of Revelation, all the doubts, and diſpel all the difficulties, which ſo long perplexed the philoſophers upon one of the moſt eſſential points of religion. They were not capable of knowing it perhaps with entire certainty by the ſole light of reaſon, but they at leaſt might and ought to have had ſome idea of it. For either God muſt neceſſarily have created the heavens, the earth, and mankind; or they muſt have been eternal, which is far more inconceivable. Can a rational and unprejudiced mind ever be convinced in earneſt, that Matter, brute and void of intelligence in itſelf, could form Beings that wear the ſtamp of Perfect Wiſdom. Faith ſhortens the way very much, and ſpares us abundance of pains. There are ſubjects, in which reaſon, unaided by that light, can make no progreſs with any certainty.

## ARTICLE III.

### *Of the nature of the ſoul.*

THERE is hardly any queſtion, about which the philoſophers are more divided, than that which relates to the nature of the ſoul; and there is hardly one, which ſhews more ſenſibly, of what human weakneſs is capable, when guided ſolely by its own lights. They diſpute much with each other about what the ſoul is, where it reſides, from whence it derives its origin, and what becomes of it after death. Some believe the heart itſelf to be the ſoul. Empedocles ſays, it is the blood which is mingled in the heart; and others that it is a certain

Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 18, 22.

of the brain. Many affirm, that neither the heart, nor the brain, are the ſoul itſelf, but only the ſeat of the ſoul; and that it is a breath or elſe a fire. This laſt is the opinion of Zeno the Stoic. Ariſtoxenus the muſician, who was alſo a philoſopher, makes it conſiſt in a certain harmony of the different parts of the body: Xenocrates places it in numbers, as Pythagoras had thought before him. Plato diſtinguiſhes three parts in the ſoul. He places the principal, which is reaſon, in the head: and makes the two others, choler and cupidity, reſide, the firſt in the breaſt, and the other under the heart. Ariſtotle, perceiving that not one of the four principles, of which, according to him, all things are made, was ſuſceptible of the properties of the ſoul, as thinking, knowing, loving, hating, &c. * ſuppoſes a fifth, to which he gives no name; calling the ſoul by a new term, that, according to Cicero, ſignifies a continued and uninterrupted motion, but a term in effect, of which the moſt learned neither underſtand nor can explain the force.

This is the enumeration Cicero gives us of the various opinions of the philoſophers concerning the nature of the ſoul. For as to that of Democritus, who makes it conſiſt of atoms, he does not think it worth repeating. He concludes this detail with theſe words, which ſeem to expreſs a great indifference for ſo important a ſubject: † *Which of all theſe opinions is true, ſome god may know; we content ourſelves with inquiring which is the moſt probable.* The ſyſtem of the Academy, which he eſpouſed, was, that the falſe is univerſally mingled in ſuch a manner with the true, and reſembles it ſo much, that there is no certain mark to diſtinguiſh them from each other.

* Quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine; & ſic ipſum animum ἐντελέχειαν appellat novo nomine, quaſi quandam continuatam motionem, & perennem. *Cic. ibid.*

† Harum ſententiarum quæ vera ſit, deus aliquis viderit: quæ ſimillima, magna quæſtio eſt.

Accord-

Accordingly Cicero, in the places where he mentions the immortality of the ſoul, ſpeaks of it almoſt always with doubt, and as one who ſuppoſes the ſyſtems for and againſt it equally poſſible and rational. And would to God that only the antient philoſophers were to be reproached with this way of thinking! It certainly argues a deplorable blindneſs in them, and a renunciation of all light and reaſon. But this doubt, when voluntary and confirmed, is abſolutely monſtrous and inconceivable in a Chriſtian. "The immortality of the ſoul, Chap. 1. "ſays M. Paſcal in his Thoughts, is a thing of "ſuch importance to us, and concerns us ſo highly, "that one muſt have loſt all reaſon to be indifferent "about it. All our actions and thoughts muſt "have ſo different a bent according to our belief "that there are or are not eternal good things to "be hoped, that it is impoſſible to take any ſtep "with ſenſe and judgment, without regulating it "with a view to this point, which ought to be "our final object." Is there any ſtupidity, I could almoſt ſay brutality, like that of daring to riſque an eternity of happineſs or miſery, upon a mere doubt?

Many of the philoſophers, of whom I have been ſpeaking, admitted only bodies, and no pure ſpirits diſtinct from matter; even the Stoics, whoſe moral doctrine in other reſpects included ſuch fine principles, were of this number. * They did not believe that the ſoul was abſolutely immortal, but only made it live a great while, *like crows*, ſays Lib. 1. c. 10. Cicero. Voſſius, in his treatiſe upon idolatry, believes, that by that *great while*, they underſtood the whole duration of the world, till the general conflagration. For, according to the Stoics, by an De nat. deor. l. 2. n. 118. ultimate revolution, the whole world was to become only fire. Particular ſouls were then, with all the

* Stoici uſuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus: diuturnos aiunt animos, ſemper negant. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l.* 1. n. 77.

reſt, to be reſolved into, and blended with the univerſal ſoul, their firſt principle. Till then they were to inhabit in the upper region, where they would have nothing to do but to philoſophiſe at their eaſe, ſupremely happy in the clear viſion of the univerſe.

Cicero deſcribes this philoſophical beatitude with a kind of enthuſiaſm. "Certainly, ſays he, we "ſhall be happy, when, with our bodies, we ſhall "have thrown off all paſſion and diſquiet. What "now conſtitutes our joy, when free from all care "we apply ourſelves ardently to ſome object that "engages and delights us, we ſhall then do with "far greater liberty; abandoning ourſelves entirely "to the contemplation of all things, which it will "be given us to know perfectly. The ſituation "itſelf of the places to which we ſhall have at-"tained, in facilitating to us the view of celeſtial "objects, and in kindling in us the deſire of pe-"netrating their beauties, will enable us fully to "ſatisfy the inſatiable ardour natural to us for "knowing truth.——* And it will diſcover itſelf "more or leſs to us, in proportion as we ſhall "have been more or leſs ſollicitous to nouriſh our-"ſelves with it during our abode upon earth.—— "What a ſight will it be, when we ſhall be able, "at one view, to behold the whole earth, its ſitu-"ation, figure, limits, and all its regions, whe-"ther inhabited, or deſert and void through ex-"ceſs of heat and cold!" Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 44, 45.

Behold here then the extent of philoſophic beatitude! What blindeſs and miſery! We ſee however, through this darkneſs, an admirable and very inſtructive principle: That, in the other life, Truth will reveal itſelf to us in proportion as we have ſought after and loved it in this.

* Præcipuè verò fruentur eâ, qui tum etiam, cùm has terras incolentes circumfuſi erant caligine, tamen acie mentis diſpicere cupiebant.

The

The philoſophers, who admit the immortality of the ſoul, give it a more noble employment after death. I do not examine whether Ariſtotle is to be ranked in that number. That queſtion has exerciſed and divided the Learned, and is not for his honour, from only continuing dubious. As to Plato, we ſee in all his works, that as well as Socrates his maſter, and Pythagoras who preceded them, he believed the ſoul to be immortal. Cicero, after having repeated many of his proofs, adds, that Plato * ſeems to endeavour to perſuade others of this truth, but to be fully convinced of it himſelf.

Plato, treading in the ſteps of Socrates, opens † two ways for ſouls after death: one of theſe leads ſuch as have ſullied themſelves with crimes and violence upon earth to the place of torments; and by the other aſcend to the auguſt aſſembly of the gods, the pure and innocent ſouls, that, during their abode in bodies, have had as little commerce as poſſible with them, and have induſtriouſly imitated the life of the gods, from whom they derive their origin, by practiſing every kind of virtue. Right reaſon alone made theſe great philoſophers perceive, that, to juſtify Providence, it was neceſſary, that there were rewards for the good, and puniſhments for the wicked, after this life.

* Plato pro immortalitate animæ tot rationes attulit, ut velle cæteris, ſibi certè perſuaſiſſe, videatur. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 49.*

† Ita cenſebat (Socrates) duas eſſe vias dupliceſque curſus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, & ſe totos libidinibus dediſſent, quibus cæcati velut domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaſſent, vel in rep. violandæ fraudes inexpiables concepiſſent, iis demum quoddam iter eſſe ſeclu-ſum à concilio deorum. Qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaviſ-ſent, quibuſque fuiſſet minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum; his ad illos, à quibus eſſent profecti, reditum fa-cilem patere. *Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 1. n. 72.*

ARI-

## ARTICLE. IV

### *Of the effects of nature.*

THIS is properly the place where I ſhould treat on Phyſics at large, and enumerate the principal queſtions it conſiders, in order to ſhew the origin and progreſs of this ſcience, and the different opinions of the antients and moderns concerning it. But this ſubject, beſides exceeding my ability, is too vaſt and extenſive to be contained within the narrow limits of an abridgment. The reader may find it treated with great perſpicuity in the work of F. Reynault the Jeſuit, intitled, *The antient origin of modern phyſics*, of which I have made great uſe. He retains a very extraordinary moderation in it, whilſt he does equal juſtice to the antients and moderns. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with ſome general reflections.

The Phyſics alone, or almoſt alone, were for many ages the employment and delight of the learned of Greece. They were the reigning ſcience there during about * four hundred years. The philoſophers were divided into two famous ſchools, the Ionic, of which Thales was the founder; and the Italic, who followed Pythagoras, as I have obſerved before. But the philoſophers, who acquired moſt fame in reſpect to phyſics, were Democritus and Leucippus, becauſe Epicurus adopted their ſyſtem, which we have extenſively from Lucretius.

This ſyſtem, as I have already obſerved, admitted no principles but Matter and Void; two points, of which the one, I mean Void, is ſcarce conceivable; and the other repugnant to reaſon, eſpecially in reſpect to the *Inclination* or obliquity, which Epicurus gives his Atoms. Notwithſtanding the ab-

* *From Thales to Hipparchus, with whom the natural philoſophers of antiquity end, very near that number of years are computed.*

ſurdities of this ſyſtem, the Epicureans, properly ſpeaking, were the only natural philoſophers of antiquity. They at leaſt ſaw, that the Cauſes of what happens to Bodies, were to be ſought only in Bodies, as well as their properties, motion, reſt, and figure: and, with this principle, they do not explain certain particular effects amiſs, though they err groſsly in reſpect to Firſt Cauſes.

Ariſtotle treated Phyſics, or rather ſpoiled them, in explaining corporeal effects by terms that can relate only to Mind, as *Sympathy*, *Antipathy*, *Horror*, &c. and in defining things only by ſome of their effects, often ill choſen, expreſſed in an obſcure manner, and almoſt always without ſhewing their cauſes.

It was not till an age before the birth of JESUS CHRIST, that Phyſics began to appear at Rome, and to ſpeak the Roman language there by the mouth of Lucretius. "At length, ſays that "philoſophical poet, the ſecrets of nature are no "longer myſteries: and I can boaſt of being the "firſt that taught them to ſpeak the language of "our country:"

Lucr. l. 5. *Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque reperta eſt*
*Nuper; & hanc primus cum primis ipſe repertus*
*Nunc ego ſum, in patrias qui poſſim vertere voces.*

Seneca * ſays, that the cauſes of the eclipſes of the moon, and of many other Phænomena in nature, were but lately known at Rome; with what reaſon I cannot ſay. † Long before Pliny's time, the day and hour of eclipſes were foretold; and ‡ Cicero aſſures us, that in his time the hour and magni-

* Cur luna deficiat, hoc apud nos quoque nuper ratio ad certum perduxit. *Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. 7. c. 25.*

† Inventa eſt jampridem ratio prænuntians horas, non modò dies ac noctes, ſolis lunæque defectuum. *Plin. l. 20, c. 2.*

‡ Defectiones ſolis & lunæ cognitæ prædictæque in omne poſterum tempus, quæ, quantæ, quando futuræ ſint. *Cic. de nat. deor. l. 2. n. 135.*

tude

tude of all eclipſes, either of ſun or moon, had been calculated for all ſucceeding ages. Sulpitius Gallus, the evening before Paulus Æmilius was to give Perſeus battle, foretold an eclipſe of the moon, that was to happen the ſame night, and gave the army the reaſons of it. The eclipſe began exactly at the hour he had mentioned, which made the troops conſider him as a perſon of more than human knowledge. *Editâ hora luna cùm defeciſſet, Romanis militibus Galli ſapientia prope divina videri.* This laſt example proves, that this kind of knowledge was very rare amongſt the Romans in thoſe days, who never applied themſelves very much either to the ſtudy of Phyſics, or the other Superior ſciences. Liv. l. 44. n. 37.

The Greeks differed much from them in this point. They cultivated them during a great length of time, and, if the honour of inventing them be not their due, no-body can deny them that of having exceedingly improved them. It is not eaſy to find a ſyſtem of the world applauded in our days, of which the antients have not at leaſt had ſome knowledge. If we fix the earth with Tycho Brahe, in order to make the ſun, circled with Mercury and Venus, turn round it, that ſyſtem was known to Vitruvius. Some fix the ſun and ſtars, to make the earth turn round from Weſt to Eaſt exactly upon its centre: and this is the ſyſtem, at leaſt in part, of Ecphantus the Pythagorean, and of Nicetas the Syracuſan. The ſyſtem now in vogue is that which places the ſun in the centre of a vortex, and the earth in the number of the planets; and which makes the planets turn round the ſun in the following order: Mercury, neareſt the ſun; Venus; the earth turning upon its centre, with the moon revolving round it; Mars; Jupiter; and Saturn laſt of all. This ſyſtem of Copernicus is not new: it is that of *Ariſtarchus, and part of the Vitruv. de Archit. l. 9. p. 284 & 287. Plut. de placit. philoſ. l. 3. p. 896. Cic. Acad. Quæſt. l. 4.

* Stob. Eclog. Phyſ. p. 54 & 56.

mathematicians of antiquity; of * Cleanthes of Samos; of † Philolaus; of the ‡ Pythagoreans, and very probably of Pythagoras himſelf.

And indeed it had been a wonder if this ſyſtem of Copernicus, which ſeems ſo rational, had never entered into the thoughts of any of the antient philoſophers. This ſyſtem, I ſay, appears very rational. For, if the earth did not move, the ſun and all the ſtars, which are very great bodies, muſt make an immenſe revolution round the earth in twenty-four hours; and the fixed ſtars which would be in the greateſt circle, where the motion is always the ſtrongeſt, would in one day take a compaſs of three hundred millions of leagues, and go farther than from hence to China, in the time one could pronounce theſe words, *Go to China*. For all this muſt happen, if the earth does not turn round upon its own axis every twenty-four hours. It is not difficult to conceive, that it does turn round in this manner, which at moſt is not above nine thouſand leagues, a trifle in compariſon with three hundred millions.

Amongſt the Moderns, rational phyſics had made little progreſs till the time of Deſcartes. He took from the Epicureans the principle, That, to explain the effects of bodies, recourſe was to be had only to bodies. But religion taught him to reject their impious principles of Neceſſity and Chance. For the principle of his phyſics he lays down a God the Creator and Firſt Mover. He alſo proſcribed the *Vacuum* as inconceivable, and *Atoms*, admitting matter to be diviſible *ad infinitum*, or, as he terms it himſelf, *ad indefinitum*.

With matter and motion, which he owns, could proceed only from the hands of God, he had the boldneſs to create a world; and, inſtead of tracing

* Plut. de facie in orbe lunæ, p. 923.
† Plut. de placit. philoſ. p. 896.
‡ Ariſtot. de cœlo, l. 2. c. 13. p. 658.

effects

effects to their cauſes, he pretended to eſtabliſh cauſes, and to deduce effects from them. From thence flows his hypotheſis of *Vortices*, which is the moſt probable opinion hitherto advanced upon the Cauſes of the univerſe, though, in a great number of particular conſequences, Deſcartes, in effect of the weakneſs inſeparable from human nature, is frequently enough miſtaken.

His Phyſics reigned in peace, when Newton undertook to dethrone them. He ſet the Vacuum on foot again, and pretended to demonſtrate the impoſſibility of vortices; in a word, to ſubvert entirely the Carteſian Phyſics. Hence enſued a great war in the learned world, which has been carried on with abundance of warmth and vigour on both ſides. Whether the learned Engliſhman has ſucceeded, or not, is a queſtion that does not concern me, and will not ſoon be decided. He has at leaſt been more circumſpect than Deſcartes, in having propoſed to himſelf to proceed from known effects to the diſcovery of their cauſes.

It muſt be owned in general, that, in reſpect to phyſics, the Moderns have very much improved the learning of the Antients, and have added many new diſcoveries to them of great importance. And it could not have happened otherwiſe. Could it be poſſible, for ſo many fine geniuſſes, as ſucceſſively applied themſelves to the obſervation of Nature, during the courſe of ſo many ages, not to have inriched phyſics, eſpecially ſince they have diſcovered extraordinary aids which the antients had not? Nature is an inexhauſtible fund, and curioſity has ſcarce any bounds. Hence it was no illuſion, when Seneca foreſaw, that poſterity would diſcover abundance of ſecrets in nature unknown in his time. "Nature *, ſaid that great man, does not diſcloſe "all

* Rerum natura ſacra ſua non ſimul tradit——Veniet tempus, quo iſta, quæ nunc latent, in lucem dies extrahat——quo poſteri

" all her myſteries at once. The time will come, " when much that is now hid will appear in full " light. Poſterity will wonder how ſuch evident " things eſcaped us; and even the vulgar know " what we are ignorant of." This opinion is entirely reaſonable, and rich in ſenſe. Many things have conduced to the conſiderable progreſs of phyſics amongſt the moderns.

They may be ſaid to have entirely changed face, and ſoared to new heights, ſince the learned have made it a law to themſelves to ſtudy Nature in nature itſelf, to make uſe of their own eyes and reaſon for diſcovering its myſteries, and no longer ſubject themſelves blindly and without examination to the judgment of others; in a word, ſince they have thrown off the yoke of authority, which in Phyſical matters ought not to inſlave our minds, and is only proper to keep them, through weak reſpect, in a ſtate of idle and preſumptuous ignorance. What progreſs did Phyſics make during the courſe of the fourteen or fifteen ages, in which the authorities of Ariſtotle and Plato were alternately the law? That method ſerved only to excite vain diſputes, to prevent generous efforts, and to extinguiſh all curioſity and emulation; whilſt the lives of philoſophers moſt capable of improving phyſics paſſed in knowing what had already been thought, rather than what one ought to think.

I always diſliked a maxim of Cicero's, which however pleaſed him much, and which he repeats more than once. It is, that he had rather err with Plato, than think aright with the other philoſophers. *Errare mehercule malo cum Platone——quam cum iſtis vera ſentire.* I don't ſee how this thought can conſiſt with good ſenſe. Is it ever juſt to prefer error to truth, under whatever fine name or ſpecious form it may conceal itſelf? We ſee here

Tuſcul. l. 1. n. 39.

noſtri tam aperta neſciſſe nos mirentur——Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis ſciet,

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the tendency of this kind of idolatry for great men. Only Religion has a right to captivate our minds in this manner, becauſe it has God himſelf for its voucher, and there is no fear of erring with it.

Every body knows how much nature ſeems to affect concealing her ſecrets from us. To diſcover her myſteries, it is neceſſary to follow her ſtep by ſtep; we muſt, to uſe the expreſſion, ſurpriſe her in her operations; we muſt make obſervations and experiments; we muſt have a due number of phænomena, in order to eſtabliſh a juſt principle for explaining them; and experiments muſt verify conjectures. The Antients practiſed all I have now ſaid to a certain degree, and not without ſucceſs. But the ſagacity of the Moderns, aſſiſted by the invention of many new inſtruments, has roſe exceedingly upon their knowledge. The principal of theſe new inventions are the teleſcope, the microſcope, the Torricellian tube, or the barometer, and the air-pump.

One Zachariah Janſen invented the teleſcope and microſcope about the end of the ſixteenth century; Torricelli the tube, which bears his name, otherwiſe called the barometer, about the middle of the ſeventeenth century; and Otho Guerick the air-pump, ſome time after.

Zachariah Janſen was an Hollander of Middleburg in Zeland, by trade a ſpectacle-maker. Chance, by which a great number of the fineſt diſcoveries are made, and under which divine Providence delights to conceal itſelf, had a great ſhare in this of Janſen. Without any premeditated deſign, he placed two ſpectacle-glaſſes at a certain diſtance oppoſite to each other, and perceived, that the two glaſſes in that ſituation magnified objects conſiderably. In conſequence he fixed glaſſes in that manner, and from the year 1590 made one of the length of twelve inches. Such was the origin of the teleſcope, which was afterwards greatly improved.

The inventor of the teleſcope did in little almoſt what he had done in large; and from thence came the microſcope. To the former of theſe inſtruments we are indebted for the knowledge of the heavens, at leaſt in part; and to the latter for that of a new little world. For we muſt not believe that we ſee every thing that inhabits the earth. There are as many ſpecies of inviſible as viſible animals. We ſee them from the elephant to the mite. And there our ſight ends. But at the mite begins an infinite multitude of animals, of which that inſect is the elephant, and which our eyes cannot diſcern without aid. By the help of the microſcope we ſee thouſands of inſects, ſwimming and darting to and fro, in the hundredth part of a drop of water. Lewenhoeck ſays, that he has ſeen fifty thouſand in a very ſmall drop of liquor.

Theſe glaſſes may be ſaid to be a new organ of ſight, which one could not have preſumed to expect from the hands of Art. How much would the antients have been ſurpriſed, if it had been foretold to them, that, by the means of certain inſtruments, their poſterity ſhould one day ſee an infinity of objects not ſeen by them: an heaven unknown to them, and plants and animals, of which they did not ſo much as ſuſpect the poſſibility!

Torricelli was Mathematican to the Duke of Florence, and Galileo's ſucceſſor. Galileo was for having the efficacy of the horror of a Vacuum occaſion water to riſe in pumps, to about two and thirty feet, and to ſupport it there, where he fixed that famous efficacy. In 1643, Torricelli tried the efficacy of this imaginary horror in quickſilver. He cauſed a glaſs tube of three or four feet to be made and ſealed at the end hermetically. This he filled with quickſilver, and turned it upſide down as is ſtill practiſed. The quickſilver came down, but ſtopped, as of itſelf, at the depth of between twenty-ſeven and twenty-eight inches.

Other

Otho Guerick, conſul of Magdeburg, formed the deſign of trying a much greater kind of Vacuum than that of the tube of Torricelli. Accordingly he cauſed a large round veſſel of glaſs to be made, with a ſufficiently ſmall opening at bottom, and a pump and ſucker to draw the air out of the veſſel. And this was the origin of the air-pump. Wonders came from his hands, that amazed philoſophers, no leſs than other people. With what aſtoniſhment, for inſtance, did they not ſee two braſs baſons, made exactly in the form of demi-ſpheres, and applied to each other at their edges, that could not be ſeparated by eight horſes on a ſide made faſt to each of them, and drawing different ways!

It is eaſy to conceive how much theſe machines, and others of a like nature, invented by the moderns, and much improved by uſe itſelf, and length of time, muſt have conduced to the progreſs of Phyſical Obſervations.

But what has contributed moſt to it is the eſtabliſhment of Academies. The laſt age gave birth to four of the moſt famous almoſt at the ſame time. *The Academy del Cimento*, at Florence; *the Royal Society*, at London; *the Royal Academy of Sciences*, at Paris; *and the Academy of the Curious in the ſecrets of nature*, in Germany. The deſire of ſupporting the reputation of a body of which one is a member, and of diſtinguiſhing one's ſelf by important works, is a powerful incentive with the learned, which keeps them almoſt continually in action. Beſides which, only ſocieties, and ſocieties protected by the prince, are capable of making the neceſſary collection of obſervations and well atteſted facts, for eſtabliſhing a future ſyſtem. Neither the learning, pains, life, nor faculties of a ſingle perſon ſuffice for that. Too great a number of experiments, of too many different kinds, all too frequently repeated in too many various manners,

and

and purſued with the ſame ſpirit for too great a length of time, are neceſſary to that effect.

I admire the wiſdom and modeſty of the Academy of Sciences, that, notwithſtanding the many learned Works with which it has inriched the public, and the many uſeful diſcoveries that are the fruits of its labours and obſervations, conſiders the ſciences, at leaſt phyſics, as ſtill in their cradle. But I admire ſtill more the religious uſe it makes of ſuch curious knowledge, which, according to it, ought to inſpire us with an high regard for the Author of nature, from the admiration of his works. "One can ſcarce help repeating often, ſay its memoirs, that in reſpect to the phyſics, the moſt common objects become ſo many miracles, as ſoon as we conſider them with certain eyes." And in another place, "The ſublime reflections into which phyſics lead us upon the Author of the univerſe, are not to be ranked amongſt its ſimple curioſities. That great work, always the more wonderful the more it is known, gives us ſo high an idea of the artificer, that we find ourſelves loſt in admiration and reverence of him, as often as we look into it. True Phyſics riſe ſo high as to become a kind of Theology."

Before I proceed to the mathematics, I ſhall touch lightly upon Phyſic or Medicine, Anatomy, Botany, and Chymiſtry, all which are either parts of, or relate to, phyſics in general or natural philoſophy. Tertullian calls the phyſician's art *the ſiſter of philoſophy*; and every body knows the three others depend on Phyſic.

CHAP.

## CHAPTER IV.

I Treat what relates to Phyſic in a ſeparate chapter, to which I add Botany, Chymiſtry, and Anatomy, which are parts of it, but of which I ſhall ſay very little.

### SECT. I.

### Of PHYSIC.

PHYSIC is undoubtedly of the ſame date with diſeaſes, for men have endeavoured to rid themſelves of them, ever ſince they knew them; and diſeaſes are almoſt as antient as the world itſelf, becauſe they were the effect and puniſhment of ſin. Men were long each his own phyſician, and it is hard to fix the time when Phyſic was firſt made an art and profeſſion. Neceſſity and experience made way for them. In certain countries, thoſe who had been cured of ſome diſeaſe, wrote down how, and by what remedies it had been effected, and depoſited thoſe accounts in the temples, for the inſtruction of others in like caſes. In other places, as in Egypt and Babyloni the ſick were expoſed in public, in order that ſuch as paſſed by, who might have been ſick and cured of the ſame diſtemper, might give them advice.

Plin. l. 29. in Procem.

Her. l. 1. c. 197. Strab. l. 1. p. 155. & l. 16. p. 746.

The Egyptians conſidered their god Hermes, that is to ſay, Mercury, as the inventor of medicine. It is certain that they cultivated it both more antiently and more learnedly than any other people.

The Greeks diſputed that glory with them, or at leaſt followed them very cloſe in it. They will ſupply us with all the phyſicians, of whom I ſhall ſpeak: for the Romans applied themſelves little to this ſcience,

ſcience. Before the Trojan war, Chiron the Theſſalian, ſurnamed the Centaur, who was Achilles's governor, made himſelf famous in phyſic by the cure of wounds, and the knowledge of ſimples, which he imparted to that hero, and his friend Patroclus.

Æſculapius, Chiron's diſciple, did not give place to his maſter. Pindar repreſents him as extremely verſed in all the parts of phyſic. Fable tells us, Jupiter, inraged that he had reſtored Hippolytus the ſon of Theſeus to life, killed him with thunder. Which intimates, that by his ſkill he cured ſuch deſperate diſeaſes, that he was ſaid to reſtore the dead to life.

Pindar. Pythior. Od. 3.

Having been placed in the number of the immortals, temples were erected to him in different places as the god of health. The moſt famous was that of Epidaurus. It was from thence, in conſequence of a famous deputation, at the head of which was Q. Ogulnius, that he is pretended to have come to Rome in the form of a ſerpent, and to have delivered the city from the plague in the year 461, from its foundation. A temple was afterwards built for him without the walls. That of Cos, the country of Hippocrates, was alſo very famous. In it were ſeveral tables or paintings, on which were written down the remedies the god had directed many ſick perſons to take, who had been cured in effect.

Homer gives Æſculapius two ſons, both famous phyſicians, of whom mention is made in the Iliad; the one called Machaon, very expert in chirurgical operations, which in thoſe times, as well as in ſucceeding ages, was not diſtinct from the practice of phyſic; the other Podalirius, more verſed in the kind of phyſic called afterwards λογικὴ, that is to ſay, founded upon principles and reaſonings. On his return from the Trojan war, Podalirius was driven by a tempeſt upon the coaſts of Caria, where he cured a daughter of king Damæthus, by bleeding her in both arms. The father, by way of reward, gave

Steph. Byzant. in voce *Syrna*

gave her to him in marriage. Amongſt other children, he had one called Hippolochus, from whom Hippocrates ſaid he was deſcended.

Pliny ſuppoſes an interval of ſix or ſeven hundred years between the ſiege of Troy and the Peloponneſian war, that is to ſay, the time of Hippocrates: which is not entirely exact. Celſus places Pythagoras, who lived in the time of Cyrus and his two ſucceſſors, and ſome other philoſophers, as Empedocles and Democritus, in the number of celebrated phyſicians. Plin. l. 29. c. 1. Celſ. in Præf.

Phyſicians are diſtinguiſhed into different claſſes and ſects. Some are called *Empirics*, becauſe they followed experience almoſt entirely in their practice. Others, of whom Hippocrates was the chief, joined reaſon with experience, which kind of phyſic took the name of *Dogmatic* or *Rational* from them. Some affected to depart from all other phyſicians, and to follow a peculiar method of their own; theſe were called the *Methodiſts*. I ſhall not confine myſelf ſcrupulouſly to this diviſion. I ſhall only follow the order of time, and ſpeak of ſuch phyſicians as were moſt known. All the different ſects of phyſicians, for there is a great number of them, are learnedly treated on in Mr. Daniel le Clerc's hiſtory of phyſic, a work of profound erudition.

Democedes of Crotona gave proofs of his ſkill, in reſtoring ſleep and health to king Darius, whom ſprain of the foot, occaſioned by a fall from his horſe, kept perpetually awake, and in exceſſive pain, which the phyſicians of the country were not able to remove. He afterwards cured the queen Atoſſa of an ulcer, which ſhe had long concealed out of modeſty. I have related this phyſician's hiſtory, with that of Darius. A. M. 3485. Ant. J. C. 519. Her. l. 3. p. 124, 133.

Herophilus acquired alſo great fame by phyſic. He made much uſe of botany, and ſtill more of anatomy, in which he made great improvements. The princes permitted him to diſſect the living bodies A. M. 3704. Ant. J. C. 300. Galen. Comment. 11. in lib. Hippoc.

bodies of condemned criminals, of whom a great number paſſed through his hands. * This made Tertullian call him an executioner rather than a phyſician.

A. M. 3540. Ant. J. C. 464. Euſtath. in Iliad.

HERODICUS of Sicily flouriſhed under Artaxerxes Longimanus. The ſect called Διαιτητικὴ, from uſing ſcarce any remedy except diet and a regimen of life, acknowledged him their chief; as well as that called *Gymnaſtic* ſect, from making great uſe of the exerciſe of the body for reſtoring and confirming health. He was the brother of the famous rhetorician Gorgias, but is beſt known by one of his diſciples.

A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460.

HIPPOCRATES, of the iſland of Cos, is that illuſtrious diſciple. His birth is dated the firſt year of the LXXXth Olympiad. He is ſaid to have deſcended from Æſculapius by Heraclides his father, and from Hercules by his mother Praxitea. He firſt applied himſelf to the ſtudy of natural things in general, and afterwards to that of the human body in particular. His own father was his firſt maſter. He alſo received leſſons from another celebrated phyſician, Herodicus, of whom I ſpoke laſt. He made a great proficiency in all the parts of phyſic, and carried the knowledge of it as high as was poſſible in thoſe days.

I have already ſaid that he was born at Cos. That iſland was conſecrated to the god Æſculapius, who was adored there in a particular manner. It was a cuſtom for all, who had been cured of any diſtemper, to make an exact memorandum of the ſymptoms that had attended it, and the remedies by which they had been relieved. Hippocrates had cauſed all theſe accounts to be copied, which were of no ſmall advantage to him, and ſerved him inſtead of a great length of experience.

* Herophilus ille medicus, aut lanius, qui ſexcentos execuit, ut naturam ſcrutaretur: qui homines odit, ut noſſet. *Tertul. lib. de anima*, c. 10.

His

His vaſt capacity appeared in a peculiar manner during the plague, that raged particularly in the city of Athens and throughout Attica during the Peloponneſian war. I have related elſewhere his great zeal and devotion for the preſervation of his country, the noble diſintereſtedneſs which induced him to refuſe the advantageous offers of the king of Perſia, and the extraordinary honours with which Greece thought it incumbent upon itſelf to reward the important ſervices he had rendered it. A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430. *Ant. Hiſt.* Vol. III.

The people of Abdera are ſaid to have written to Hippocrates to deſire him to come thither to viſit Democritus. They ſaw that philoſopher regardleſs of every thing, laugh at every thing, ſay that the air was full of images, and boaſt that he made voyages into the vaſt immenſe of things. Conſidering all this as ſo many ſymptoms and beginnings of phrenzy, they were afraid he would run mad, and that his great learning would entirely turn his brain. Hippocrates ſet them right and judged very differently of Democritus's condition. It is not certain that the letters aſcribed to Hippocrates, from whence this fact is taken, are genuine.

The writings which he left behind him in great number, have always been and ſtill are conſidered, as the moſt perfect in this kind, and as the beſt and moſt proper foundation for the ſtudy of phyſic. He has preſerved the remembrance of an event in them, which does him ſtill more honour than all learning and capacity. It is the ſincere confeſſion of an error, which he had committed in dreſſing a wound in the head: for antiently, as we have obſerved, phyſic, ſurgery, and pharmacy, were not diſtinct profeſſions. * He is not aſhamed to own, at the

* De futuris ſe deceptum eſſe Hippocrates memoriæ prodidit, more magnorum virorum, & fiduciam magnarum rerum habentium. Nam levia ingenia, quia nihil habent, nihil ſibi detrahunt. Magno ingenio, multaque nihilominus habituro, convenit etiam veri erroris confeſſio, præcipuè in eo miniſterio, quod utilitatis cauſa poſteris traditur, ne qui decipiantur eadem ratione qua quis deceptus eſt. *Celſ.* l. 8. c. 4.

expence

expence in ſome meaſure of his glory, that he was miſtaken; leſt others, after him, and by his example, ſhould fall into the ſame error. Little minds, ſays Celſus, and men of vulgar abilities, do not act in this manner, but are much more careful of the ſmall reputation they have, becauſe they can loſe nothing without impoveriſhing themſelves. Only great geniuſſes, conſcious to themſelves of the abundance they otherwiſe poſſeſs, are capable of ſuch a confeſſion, and of neglecting the little loſſes that diminiſh nothing of their riches and opulence.

He makes alſo another confeſſion, that argues an admirable ſpirit of candour and ingenuity. Of forty-two patients, whoſe diſtempers he deſcribes in his firſt and third books *upon epidemical diſeaſes*, he owns that he cured only ſeventeen, that the reſt died under his hands. In the ſecond book of the ſame work, ſpeaking of a kind of quinſey, attended with dangerous ſymptoms, he ſays, that all his patients recovered. *Had they died*, adds he, *I ſhould have ſaid ſo with the ſame freedom.*

Lib. de arte. In another place, he complains modeſtly of the injuſtice of thoſe who cry down phyſic, under the pretence, that many people die in the hands of phyſicians. As if, ſays he, the death of the patient might not be imputed to the unſurmountable violence of the diſtemper, as much, or rather more, than to the fault of the phyſician.

Lib. præreptionum. He declares, that it is no diſhonour to a phyſician, when he is at a loſs how to act in certain difficult caſes, to call in other phyſicians, in order to conſult with them upon what is neceſſary to be done for the patient's good. From whence we ſee that ſuch conſultations are an antient cuſtom.

The character of a truly honeſt man, and one of the greateſt probity, appears in the oath of Hippocrates, with which he introduces his works. He calls the gods, who preſide over phyſic, to witneſs the ſincere deſire he has to diſcharge exactly all

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the duties of his ſtation. He expreſſes a warm and reſpectful gratitude for him who taught him the art of phyſic, and declares that he ſhall always conſider him as his father, and his children as his own brothers, whom he ſhall make it his duty to aſſiſt upon all occaſions, both with his fortune and advice. He proteſts, that, in the regimen which he ſhall preſcribe for the ſick, he ſhall take great care to conſult what may be beſt for them, and to avoid whatever may be to their prejudice. He propoſes to himſelf the leading of a pure and irreproachable life, and not to diſhonour his profeſſion by any action worthy of blame. He ſays that he ſhall never undertake to cut for the ſtone, and ſhall leave that operation to perſons whom long experience has rendered dexterous at it. He proteſts that, if in viſiting his patients or otherwiſe, he ſhall diſcover any thing which ought to be concealed, that he will never reveal it, but will inviolably obſerve the ſacred law of ſecrecy. And laſtly he hopes, by his punctual attachment to all theſe rules, that he ſhall acquire the eſteem of poſterity, and conſents to forfeit the good opinion of the world for ever, if he is ſo unfortunate as to depart from them.

He is highly praiſed for his diſintereſtedneſs, a moſt eſtimable virtue in a phyſician. What he ſays upon this ſubject is worthy of remark. He is for having the phyſician act, in reſpect to his fees, with honour and humanity, and regulate them by the patient's power to reward them more or leſs liberally. There are even occaſions, ſays he, on which a phyſician ought neither to aſk nor to expect reward; as in the caſes of ſtrangers and the poor, whom all the world are obliged to aſſiſt. In Lib. præreptionum.

He appears to have been full of reſpect for the Divinity. "Thoſe, ſays he, who firſt diſcovered the manner of curing diſeaſes, believed it an art, of which the invention ought to be attributed to God." De priſc. medic.

"God." I have already obſerved elſewhere, that Cicero was of the ſame opinion: *Deorum immortalium inventioni conſecrata eſt ars medica.*

Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 3.

Nothing is particularly known of the death of Hippocrates. He died at a very advanced age, and left two ſons, THESSALUS and DRACO, who acquired great reputation amongſt the phyſicians, as well as POLYBIUS, his ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor.

I have ſpoken, in the hiſtory of Philip, of the ridiculous vanity of a phyſician called MENECRATES, whom that prince treated as he deſerved.

A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

PHILIP of Acarnania is known from the ſalutary draught he gave Alexander the Great, which ſaved his life, at a time when endeavours had been uſed to render that phyſician ſuſpected.

A. M. 3722. Ant. J. C. 282.

ERASISTRATUS made himſelf known and eſteemed by his addreſs in diſcovering the cauſe of the ſickneſs of Antiochus Soter, the ſon of Seleucus king of Syria. I have related the fact in its place. If Pliny may be believed, that wonderful cure which reſtored a tenderly beloved ſon to his father, was rewarded with an hundred talents, that is to ſay, an hundred thouſand crowns.

Val. Max. l. 5. c. 7. Vol. VII. Plin. l. 29. in Procem.

A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Vol. VIII.

APOLLOPHANES, phyſician to Antiochus ſirnamed the Great, was very learned in his profeſſion; but became ſtill more famous by the important ſervice which he rendered his maſter. Hermias, the firſt miniſter of that prince, committed unheard of extortions and oppreſſions, and had rendered himſelf ſo terrible, that no-body dared lay their complaints before the court. Apollophanes had ſo much love for the public good, as not to fear riſquing his fortune for it. He diſcovered the general diſcontent of the kingdom to the king, and left that leſſon to phyſicians, upon the uſe they ought to make of their freedom of acceſs to princes.

A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

MITHRIDATES, who was ſo long the terror of the Romans, diſtinguiſhed himſelf highly in phyſic, not only by the invention of the antidote that ſtill bears

bears his name, but the compoſition of ſeveral learned works, which Pompey made Lenæus his freed-man tranſlate into Latin.

ASCLEPIADES of Bithynia, who at firſt taught eloquence at Rome, quitted the profeſſion of a rhetorician to take up that of a phyſician, which he believed more profitable than the other, and was not miſtaken. He introduced an entire change in the practice obſerved before him, and departed almoſt in every thing from the principles and rules of Hippocrates. To ſolid and profound knowledge he ſubſtituted the inſinuation and repute of a fine ſpeaker, which often paſs for merit with the ſick. He alſo made it his buſineſs to flatter their taſte, and gratify their deſires to the utmoſt of his power, a certain means for gaining their confidence. His maxim was, that a phyſician ought to cure his patients, **ſafely, ſoon, and agreeably.* This practice is much to be deſired, ſays Celſus. But the misfortune is, that to endeavour to cure too ſoon, and to preſcribe nothing but what is agreeable, are generally attended with great danger. What contributed moſt to bring him into vogue was his luckily meeting a man, that his friends were going to inter, in whom he found ſome remains of life, and whom he reſtored to perfect health. Pliny often mentions this phyſician, but with very little eſteem. A. M. 3920. Ant. J. C. 84. Plin. l. 26. c. 3. Apul. l. 4. Florid.

THEMISON, the diſciple of Aſclepiades, was a native of Laodicæa. He made ſome alteration in his maſter's ſyſtem, when he was old. The ſect which he formed, was called the *Methodic ſect*, becauſe he thought proper to eſtabliſh a method for rendering phyſic more eaſy to learn and practiſe. Juvenal does not ſpeak in his favour: A. M. 4000. Ant. J. C. 4.

Quot Themiſon ægros autumno occiderit uno. Sat. 10. l. 4.

* Aſclepiades officium eſſe medici dicit, ut tutò, celeriter, & jucundè curet. Id votum eſt; ſed fere periculoſa eſſe nimia & feſtinatio & voluptas ſolet. *Celſ.* l. 3. c. 4.

*As many, with his pills*
*As in one autumn learn'd Themiſon kills.*

Cicero and Horace mention CRATERUS as a learned phyſician.

A. D. 66. DIOSCORIDES *(Pedacius)* a phyſician of Anazarba, a city of Cilicia, afterwards called Cæſarea. Voſſius, after Suidas, ſays, that he was phyſician to Antony and Cleopatra. It is believed that they confound him with another Dioſcorides, ſirnamed *Phacas*. The perſon meant here might live in Veſpaſian's time. Some of the Learned have diſputed, whether Pliny copied Dioſcorides, or the latter extracted his work from Pliny. Theſe two authors wrote at the ſame time, and upon the ſame ſubjects, without ever citing each other. The ſubject treated by Dioſcorides is the *Materia Medica*, the matter or elements of medicine. All bodies uſed in phyſic are ſo called, and are principally reduced to three ſpecies: plants, animals, and minerals, or things of the nature of the earth.

Sueton. in Aug. c. 81. Dion. Caſſ. l. 53. p. 517. ANTONIUS MUSA, the freedman, phyſician of the emperor Auguſtus, cured him of a dangerous diſtemper, which had reduced him to the laſt extremity, by treating him in a manner quite different from what had been uſed before, and making him uſe cold baths, and refreſhing draughts. This happy cure, beſides the great preſents made him by the emperor and the ſenate, acquired Muſa the privilege of wearing a gold ring, which, till then had been granted only to perſons of the firſt condition. All phyſicians, on Muſa's account, were exempted from all taxes for ever. The Roman people, to expreſs their gratitude, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to him near that of Æſculapius. * He took the ſame method with Horace,

Epiſt. 15. l. 1.

Nam mihi Baias
Muſa ſupervacuas Antonius, & tamen illis
Me facit inviſum, gelida cùm perluor unda
Per medium frigus.

and

and made him uſe the cold bath in the midſt of winter.

CORNELIUS CELSUS is believed to have lived in the reign of Tiberius. He was very learned, and had written upon all kinds of ſubjects. Quintilian, L.12.c.11. who highly extols his erudition, terms him however only an indifferent genius: *Cornelius Celſus, mediocri vir ingenio.* I don't know whether the phyſicians agree with him in this point. We have eight books of his upon phyſic, which are wrote in very good Latin.

GALEN, the moſt celebrated of phyſicians next A.D. 131. to Hippocrates, was of Pergamus. He lived in the reigns of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and ſome other emperors. He was educated with great care in the ſtudy of polite learning, philoſophy, and the mathematics. When he had made choice of the profeſſion of phyſic, he devoted himſelf entirely to it, went to many of the cities of Greece, to receive leſſons from the moſt famous maſters in that ſcience, and continued particularly at Alexandria in Egypt, where the ſtudy of phyſic flouriſhed at that time, more than in any other part of the world. When he returned into his own country, he knew how to make great uſe of the precious treaſures of learning which he had collected in his travels. His principal application was in ſtudying Hippocrates, whom he always conſidered as his maſter, and in whoſe ſteps he thought it his honour and duty to tread. He received his principles in all their force, which had been neglected and left in oblivion above ſix hundred years.

He went to Rome at the age of thirty-four, where he acquired great reputation, and at the ſame time drew upon himſelf no leſs envy from the other phyſicians. His extraordinary cures of patients abſolutely given over, his ſagacity in diſcovering the true cauſes of diſtempers that had eſcaped others, the certainty with which he often foretold all the

ſymptoms that were to happen, the effect his remedies would produce, and the time in which a perfect cure would be effected; all this occaſioned his being conſidered, on the one ſide, by the unprejudiced, as a phyſician of extraordinary learning and talents; and on the other, by his jealous brethren, as a man who performed all his operations by the aſſiſtance of magic. At leaſt they ſpread that report to depreciate him, if poſſible, in the opinion of the people and the Great.

A.D.166. The plague, which happened ſome years after, and which made horrible ravages throughout Italy and in many other provinces, determined him to return into his country. If it was to take care of the people, his deſign was very generous and laudable.

A.D.170. He did not continue long there. M. Aurelius, at his return from his expedition againſt the Germans, ordered him to Aquileia, from whence he afterwards brought him in his train to Rome. The emperor repoſed great confidence in him. The rigid life which that prince led had very much impaired his health. He took a preparation of treacle every day to ſtrengthen his ſtomach and lungs, which were very weak: this Galen made up for him. To this remedy the health he generally enjoyed, notwithſtanding his great weakneſs, was attributed.

That prince, intending to return into Germany, was extremely deſirous of carrying Galen thither with him, whoſe great abilities, and perfect knowledge of his conſtitution, made him more capable of ſerving him than any other phyſician. Galen, however, having deſired him to leave him at Rome, the emperor, who was all goodneſs, complacency, and humanity, complied. I admire this condeſcenſion; but cannot conceive, how a phyſician in ſuch a conjuncture could refuſe himſelf to the deſires of a prince ſo worthy of conſideration.

Perhaps the deſign he had formed of writing upon phyſic, and which he might have already begun to put

put in execution, might occaſion this refuſal. And indeed it was after this expedition of M. Aurelius till his death, and during the reign of Commodus, his ſon and ſucceſſor, that Galen compoſed and publiſhed his writings upon phyſic, whether during his abode at Rome, or after his retirement into his own country. Part of his writings were loſt in the conflagration which deſtroyed whole quarters of Rome and many libraries, in the reign of the emperor Commodus. The place and time of Galen's death are not exactly known.

A fact, which Galen relates himſelf, ſhews us both his vaſt ability, and the eſteem which M. Aurelius had for him. " That prince, ſays he, having been ſuddenly ſeized in the night with a " cholic and looſeneſs, which made him feveriſh, " his phyſicians ordered him to lie ſtill, and gave " him only a little broth in the ſpace of nine hours. " The ſame phyſicians, returning afterwards to the " emperor, where I happened to be, judged from " his pulſe, that he had a fever coming on him: " for my part, I continued ſilent, and even without feeling his pulſe in my turn. This induced " the emperor to aſk me, turning towards the ſide " where I was, why I did not come to him? To " which I anſwered, that his phyſicians having already felt his pulſe twice, I came into what they " had done, not doubting but that they were better judges of his pulſe than me. The prince however offering me his arm, I then felt his pulſe, " and having examined it with abundance of attention, I declared that there was not the leaſt " ſign of the acceſs of a fever, but that his ſtomach was clogged with ſome indigeſted food " which occaſioned his being feveriſh. M. Aurelius was ſo well convinced of what I ſaid, that " he cried out: *That's it*; *you have hit it exactly*: " *I feel my ſtomach clogged*; and repeated the ſame " two or three times over. He afterwards aſked

Gal. de Præcognitione, c. 11.

" me, what was to be done to relieve him? I re-
" plied, if any other perſon except the emperor
" were in the ſame condition, I ſhould give him
" a little pepper in wine, as I have often done upon
" the like occaſion. But, as it is the cuſtom to
" give no remedies to princes, but what are very
" gentle, it will ſuffice to apply ſome wool ſteeped
" in oil of ſpike very hot to the emperor's ſtomach.
" M. Aurelius, continues Galen, did not fail to
" take both thoſe remedies, and addreſſing himſelf
" afterwards to Pitholaus, his ſon's governor: *We*
" *have but one phyſician*, ſaid he, ſpeaking of me.
" *He's the only man of value we have.*"

The manners of that illuſtrious phyſician ſuited his ability and reputation. He expreſſes great reſpect for the Divinity in abundance of places; and ſays, " That piety does not conſiſt in offering in-
" cenſe or ſacrifices to him; but in knowing and
" admiring the wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, that
" ſhines forth in all his works one's ſelf, and in
" making others know and admire them. He had
" the misfortune of not knowing, and even of con-
" demning the true religion."

In lib. de uſu corp. hum.

He never mentions his father, or his maſters, but with the warmeſt and moſt reſpectful gratitude, eſpecially when he ſpeaks of Hippocrates, to whom he aſcribes the whole honour of all he knew or practiſed. If he departs ſometimes from his opinion, for he reſpected truth above all things, it is with ſuch precautions and reſervations, as argue the ſincere eſteem he had for him, and how much he conſidered himſelf below him in every thing whatſoever.

His aſſiduity about the ſick, the time which he beſtowed upon knowing their condition exactly, the care which he took of the poor, and the relief he procured them, are fine models for the imitation of perſons of the ſame profeſſion.

Plin. l. 25. c. 1.

We read in Pliny, that ARCHAGATUS of Peloponneſus was the firſt phyſician who came to Rome:

Rome: this was in the conſulſhip of L. Æmilius and L. Julius, the 535th year from the foundation of the city. It would be ſurpriſing if the Romans were ſo long without phyſicians. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, ſpeaking of a plague, which ſwept off almoſt all the ſlaves and half the citizens in the 301ſt year of Rome, ſays, that there were not phyſicians enough for the number of the ſick. There were phyſicians then at that time. But it is probable, that the Romans, till the arrival of Archagathus, uſed only the natural, or the ſimple Empiric kind of phyſic, ſuch as we may ſuppoſe it practiſed by the firſt men. That phyſician was treated very honourably at firſt, and rewarded with the freedom of the city: but the violent remedies which he was obliged to uſe, for his principal excellency conſiſted in ſurgery, ſoon diſguſted the people both of him and of phyſic in general. It ſeems however, that many phyſicians came from Greece to Rome to practiſe their art, though Cato, during his life, oppoſed it with his whole power. For, in the decree, by which, many years after the death of that celebrated cenſor, the Greeks were obliged to quit Rome, the phyſicians are mentioned expreſsly. * Till Pliny's time, of all profeſſions, that of phyſic, as gainful as it was, was the only one no Roman had followed, becauſe they believed it below them; and, if any did practiſe it, it was, to uſe the expreſſion, only in going over to the Grecian camp, and ſpeaking their language: for ſuch was the folly and madneſs of the Romans, and even of the loweſt of the people, that they would confide only in ſtrangers, as if their health and lives had

A. M. 3780. Ant. J. C. 215. Antiq. Rom. l. 10. p. 677.

* Solam hanc artium Græcarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas in tanto fructu: paucissimi Quiritium attigere, & ipsi statim ad Græcos transfugæ. Ipso verò auctoritas aliter, quàm Græcè eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos experteſque linguæ, non eſt: ac minus credunt, quæ ad ſalutem ſuam pertinent, ſi intelligunt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

been

been moſt ſafe in the hands of thoſe, whoſe very language they did not underſtand.

It is difficult, and indeed foreign to my ſubject, to determine in reſpect to the merit of the antient and modern phyſic, and to give the one the preference to the other. They have each their peculiar advantages, which render both highly eſtimable. It is natural to conceive, that the experience of many ages muſt have added conſiderable lights to the knowledge of the antients. I deſired a learned phyſician, one of my brethren in the college royal and the academy of Belles Letters, and my particular friend, to favour me with a few lines upon what I might ſay with reaſon upon a ſubject abſolutely unknown to me. I ſhall content myſelf with inſerting them here, without any addition:

M. Burette.

" The new diſcoveries which have inriched the " phyſic of the moderns, and which may give it " the preference to that of the antients, are:

" 1. Thoſe of anatomy, which have made it " more perfectly acquainted with the ſtructure of " the human body, and the wonders of the animal " œconomy; amongſt others, the circulation of " the blood, with all its relations and dependences: " which has given it a great inſight into the cauſes " of diſeaſes, and the manner of treating them.

" 2. Thoſe of ſurgery, which, beſides many very " ſalutary operations added to thoſe of the antients, " have rendered the modern practice more ſafe and " and expeditious, and leſs painful.

" 3. Thoſe of pharmacy, which conſiſts in the " knowledge and uſe of many ſpecific remedies for " the cure of certain diſeaſes; as *Quinquina* for the " ague, *Ipecacuanha* for the dyſentery, &c. without " reckoning thoſe which chymiſtry has rendered " more efficacious and leſs diſguſting.

" 4. The opening of bodies, that have died of " diſeaſes an abundant ſource of the moſt impor-

" tant

" tant obſervations, for improving the practice of " phyſic in the treatment of the ſame diſeaſes.

" The phyſic of the antients is perhaps to be " preferred to that of the moderns, in being leſs " profuſe of medicines in ſickneſs, and leſs deſirous " to precipitate cures; in obſerving the motions of " nature with more attention, and aſſiſting them " with greater confidence; and in being contented " to divide the honour of the cure with nature, " without arrogating the whole glory of it to it- " ſelf, &c."

Phyſic, however uſeful and ſalutary, has had the misfortune to be the butt, almoſt in all times, even of great and highly eſtimable perſons, eſpecially amongſt the Romans. * Cato, to whoſe authority a triumph and the cenſorſhip add nothing, ſo much was his perſonal merit ſuperior to all titles, was one of thoſe who declared himſelf moſt ſtrongly againſt the phyſicians, as we ſee in a letter to his ſon, preſerved by Pliny. But we muſt obſerve, that he means in it only the phyſicians from Greece, to which nation he has abundance of ill-will. " You † " may depend upon what I am going to ſay as a " certain prediction. If ever that nation (meaning " Greece) ſhould impart to us their taſte for letters, " we are undone; and eſpecially if they ſend us " their phyſicians. They have ſworn amongſt them- " ſelves to deſtroy all the Barbarians with their art." The Greeks called all other nations by that name. So exceſſive an exaggeration refutes itſelf, and ſufficiently explains what we ought to think of it.

Pliny the Naturaliſt was much in the ſame way of thinking. He ſeems to have made it his buſi-

* Quod clariſſimè intelligi poteſt ex M. Catone, cujus auctoritati Triumphus atque Cenſura minimum conferunt; tanto plus in ipſo eſt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

† Nequiſſimum & indocile genus illorum. Et hoc puta Vatem dixiſſe: Quandocumque iſta gens ſuas literas dabit, omnia corrumpet. Tum etiam magis, ſi medicos ſuos huc mittet. Jurarunt inter ſe barbaros nocare omnes medicina. *Ibid.*

neſs

neſs to decry the phyſicians, by throwing together all that could make them contemptible and even odious. He taxes them with avarice, upon account of the conſiderable rewards they received from princes: but ought the generous gratitude of the latter to be imputed to phyſicians? He reports the depravity of manners into which ſome of them fell: but were not theſe faults perſonal, and ought they not to be atoned for by the infinite ſervices which others of the ſame profeſſion have done mankind in all ages? He takes pains to turn the conſultations of phyſicians into ridicule: he repeats an antient inſcription upon a tomb, in which the deceaſed ſaid, that he died of a multitude of phyſicians: TURBA SE MEDICORUM PERIISSE. He complains that of all the arts phyſic is allowed to be practiſed without undergoing any examination, or giving any proofs of its ability. "They learn it, * ſays he, at our "hazard, and acquire experience at the price of "our lives. No law puniſhes their ignorance; nor "is there any example of its being chaſtiſed. Only "a phyſician can murder with abſolute impunity." Pliny has reaſon for theſe complaints; but they extend only to Empirics, that is to ſay, perſons of no repute, authority, or learning, who take upon them to practiſe that, of all the arts, which ſtands the moſt in need of theſe qualifications.

Extremes are not to be admitted upon this head, in which blind confidence, and ill-grounded contempt, may be equally dangerous. The holy ſcripture, which is the rule of our opinions, preſcribes both to the patient and phyſician how they ought to think and act: "Honour the phyſician with "the honour due unto him, for the uſes which "you may have of him: for the Lord hath created

Eccleſiaſt. xxix. 1—14.

* Nulla lex quæ puniat inſcitiam: capitale nullum exemplum vindictæ. Diſcunt periculis noſtris, & experimenta per mortes agunt: medicoque tantùm hominem occidiſſe impunitas ſumma eſt. *Plin.* l. 29. c. 1.

"him

" him—The Lord hath created medicines out of " the earth, and he that is wiſe will not abhor " them—Was not the water made ſweet with wood, " that the virtue thereof [*of plants*] might be " known? And he hath given men ſkill, that he " might be honoured in his marvellous works— " My ſon, in thy ſickneſs be not negligent; but " pray unto the Lord, and he will make thee " whole: Then give place unto the phyſician; for " the Lord hath created him: let him not go from " thee, for thou haſt need of him. There is a " time when in their hands there is good ſucceſs; " for they ſhall alſo pray unto the Lord, that he " would proſper that which they give, for eaſe and " remedy to prolong life." Only the Spirit of God is capable of giving ſuch wiſe and reaſonable advice.

## SECT. II.

## OF BOTANY.

BOTANY is a ſcience which treats of plants. This branch of knowledge has been eſteemed in all ages and nations. Mankind are generally enough convinced, that all phyſic is included in Simples; * and there is great reaſon to believe, that it had its beginning in theſe remedies, which are ſimple, natural, of no expence, always at hand, and within the capacity of the pooreſt perſon. Pliny cannot bear that, inſtead of uſing them, people ſhould go at a great expence to the moſt remote countries in queſt of medicines. Accordingly we ſee, that the moſt antient phyſicians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the knowledge and uſe of ſimples: Æſculapius, who, if we may believe fable, reſtored Hippolytus to life by the uſe of them; Chiron, the maſter of Achilles, ſo ſkilful in phyſic; Jaſpis, to whom his

Pæoniis revocatum herbis. *Virg.*

* Hinc nata Medicina. Hæc ſola naturæ placuerat eſſe remedia, parata vulgo, inventu facilia, ac ſine impendio—Ulceri parvo medicina à Rubro mari imputatur, cùm remedia vera quotidie pauperrimus quiſque cœnet. *Plin.* l. 24. c. 2.

father

father Apollo, the god of phyſic, granted, as a rare gift, the knowledge of Simples:

Scire poteſtates herbarum, uſumque medendi.
*Æn.* l. 12. v. 396.

*To know the pow'rs of herbs, and arts of cure.*

Botany is one of the parts of natural philoſophy: it calls in the aid of chymiſtry; and is of great uſe in phyſic. Natural philoſophy, or phyſics in general, conſiders the internal ſtructure of plants, their vegetation, generation, and multiplication. Chymiſtry reduces them to their principles or elements. Phyſic derives from theſe elemental principles, and ſtill more frequently from the experience of the effects of plants, when employed in ſubſtance, the uſe to be made of them for the health of an human body. The union of theſe ſeveral branches of knowledge in the ſame perſon forms an excellent character, but is not neceſſary to Botany properly ſo called, whoſe bounds are leſs extenſive, within which it may confine itſelf with honour. To make plants a peculiar ſtudy, to know their moſt eſſential marks, to be able to name them in a ſhort and eaſy method, that reduces them to their proper and reſpective kinds and claſſes, to deſcribe them in terms ſo as to be known to thoſe who never ſaw them; theſe are preciſely the functions of a botaniſt conſidered as ſuch.

In the earlier times, the knowledge of plants ſeems to have been purely medicinal: which is what rendered the catalogue of them ſo ſhort and ſo limited, that Theophraſtus, the beſt hiſtorian of antiquity come down to us upon this ſubject, names only ſix hundred, though he had collected not only thoſe of Greece, but of Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia. Dioſcorides and Pliny, though they might have had better and ampler memoirs upon this head, have ſcarce cited more. But, far from having eſtabliſhed any order amongſt them, they have not deſcribed thoſe of which they ſpeak, in a proper

proper manner to diſtinguiſh and make them known; and have many, even of the moſt important in their collection, that are not now to be found.

The ages which ſucceeded that of Dioſcorides, added little riches to Botany. And indeed at length all the ſciences were eclipſed, and did not appear again till the fifteenth century, when every body was intent upon hearing the antients, in order to retrieve the learning which had been ſo long buried in oblivion. Pope Nicholas V. commiſſioned Theodore Gaza to tranſlate Theophraſtus, as the only man capable of making him underſtood. Soon after other learned men laboured ſucceſſively in tranſlating Dioſcorides. Theſe verſions, though very eſtimable in other reſpects, ſerved only to excite diſputes between many very learned phyſicians.

The ſearch after plants in the books of the Greeks and Latins was from that time conceived not the beſt method of making any great progreſs in the knowledge of them. Accordingly reſolutions were taken to go in queſt of it to the places where the antients had written. With this view voyages were made to the iſlands of the Archipelago, Syria, Meſopotamia, Paleſtine, Arabia, and Egypt. Theſe excurſions were uſeleſs enough with reſpect to their principal deſign, the underſtanding of the antient authors: but, the Learned having brought back a great number of plants which they diſcovered themſelves, botany began to appear in its true form, and to change what before was only citation and comment into natural obſervations and a regular ſcience. About the end of the Fifteenth Century, they confined themſelves ſolely to deſcribing the plants of their own countries, or of thoſe into which greater curioſity had carried the lovers of botany; and they began to point out the places where each plant grew, the time of its coming up, its duration and maturity, with figures, that conſtitute the principal value of this kind of works, from the clearneſs they give

give them. Various collections which appeared at that time, inſtead of the five or ſix hundred extracted by Matthiolus from the antients, included in the beginning of the ſixteenth century more than ſix thouſand, all deſcribed with their figures.

There was ſtill wanting however a general order, or ſyſtem, to the knowledge of plants, which might make it a ſcience properly ſo called, by giving it principles and a method. Upon this ſeveral of the Learned employed themſelves afterwards, with a ſucceſs, not indeed perfect hitherto, (for ſciences attain their ultimate perfection only from ſucceſſion of time) but which afforded great views and inſight for arriving at that perfection.

The Syſtem of botany at length received its laſt form from Monſieur Tournefort. His inſtitutions, attended with the deſcription and deſigns of an immenſe number of plants, will be an eternal monument of the vaſtneſs of his views, and his laborious inquiries, which coſt him incredible fatigues, indiſpenſably neceſſary to the deſign he propoſed. For botany, ſays Mr. Fontenelle in his oration in praiſe of Mr. Tournefort, is not a ſedentary and inactive ſcience, that may be attained in the repoſe and ſhade of a cloſet, like geometry or hiſtory; or which, at moſt, like chymiſtry, anatomy, and aſtronomy, requires operations of no great pains and application. To ſucceed in it, the ſtudent muſt range over mountains and foreſts, muſt climb ſteep rocks, and expoſe himſelf upon the brinks of precipices. The only books, that can inſtruct him fully in this ſubject, are ſprinkled over the face of the whole earth, and, to peruſe and collect them, he muſt reſolve upon fatigue and danger.

To ſucceed in the deſign of carrying botany to the greateſt perfection, or at leaſt to approach it, it would be neceſſary to ſtudy Theophraſtus and Diſcorides in Greece, Aſia, Egypt, Africa, and in all the places where they lived, or with which they

they were more particularly acquainted. Monſieur Tournefort received the king's orders, in 1700, to make the tour of thoſe provinces, not only in order for knowing the plants of the antients, and perhaps alſo ſuch others as might have eſcaped them, but for making obſervations upon natural hiſtory in general. Theſe are expences worthy of a prince of Lewis XIVth's magnificence, and will do him infinite honour throughout all ages. The plague, which then raged in Egypt, abdridged Mr. Tournefort's travels to his great regret, and made him return from Smyrna into France in 1702. He arrived, as a great poet ſays upon a more pompous but leſs uſeful occaſion, *laden with the ſpoils of the Eaſt.* Beſides an infinity of various obſervations, he brought back thirteen hundred and fifty-ſix new ſpecies of plants, without including thoſe which he had collected in his former travels. What vaſt riches!

Spoliis Orientis onuſtus. *Virg.*

It was neceſſary to diſpoſe them in an order that might facilitate the knowledge of them. This Mr. Tournefort had before laboured in his firſt work, publiſhed in the year 1694. By the new order which he eſtabliſhed, the whole were reduced into fourteen figures of flowers, by the means of which we deſcend to ſix hundred and ſeventy-three kinds, or diſtinct Genuſſes, that contain under them eight thouſand eight hundred and forty-ſix Species of Plants.

Since Monſieur Tournefort's death, botany has been greatly augmented, and new additions are every day made to it by the pains and application of thoſe who have the care of this part of phyſic in the royal garden of France, eſpecially ſince the direction of it has been given to the Count de Maurepas, ſecretary of ſtate, who not only delights, but thinks it his duty, to protect learning and learned men.

I ought here to expreſs my gratitude to * Mon-

* *Doctor-regent in the faculty of phyſic in the univerſity of Paris, profeſſor and demonſtrator of plants in the garden-royal, &c.*

ſieur Juſſieu ſenior, who communicated one of his memoirs upon botany to me.

## SECT. III.

## OF CHYMISTRY.

CHYMISTRY is an art which teaches to ſeparate by fire the different ſubſtances contained in mixed bodies, or, which is the ſame thing, in vegetables, minerals, and animals; that is to ſay, to make the analyſis of natural bodies, to reduce them into their firſt principles, and to diſcover their hidden virtues. It may be of uſe both to phyſicians in particular for the diſcovery of medicines, and natural philoſophers in general for the knowledge of nature. It does not appear, that the antients made much uſe of it, though perhaps it was not unknown to them.

Paracelſus, who lived in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and taught phyſic at Baſil, acquired great reputation there, by curing many perſons of diſeaſes believed incurable with chymical remedies. He boaſted, that he could preſerve a man's life during many ages, and died himſelf at fourſcore and eight.

Mr. Lemery, ſo expert and famous in chymiſtry, declared almoſt all analyſes to be no more than the curioſity of philoſophers, and believed that, in reſpect to phyſic, chymiſtry, in reducing mixed bodies to their principles, reduced them often to nothing. I ſhall relate one of his experiments, which is curious, and intelligible to every body.

Mem. de l'acad. des ſciences, *an.* 1700.

He made an Ætna or Veſuvius, by burying at the depth of a foot in the ground, during the ſummer, fifty pounds of filings of iron and ſulphur pulveriſed in equal quantities, the whole made into a paſte with water. In about eight or nine hours time, the earth ſwelled, and opened itſelf in ſeveral

places;

places; and emitted hot and ſulphurous vapours, and at length flames.

It is eaſy to conceive, that a greater quantity of this mixture of iron and ſulphur with a proportionate depth of earth was all that was wanting to form a real mount Ætna: That the ſulphurous vapours would, in endeavouring a paſſage, have occaſioned an earthquake more or leſs violent, according to their force and the obſtacles in their way: That, when they either found or made themſelves a vent, they would break out with an impetuoſity to occaſion an hurricane: That, if they made their way through a part of the earth under the ſea, they would occaſion thoſe water-ſpouts ſo dangerous to ſhips: And, laſtly, that, if they roſe to the clouds, they would carry their ſulphur thither along with them, which would produce thunder.

There is a kind of chimerical chymiſtry that propoſes the tranſmutation of metals as its object, and is called *Alchymy*, or *Seeking the philoſopher's ſtone*.

## SECT. IV.

## OF ANATOMY.

ANATOMY is a ſcience that teaches the knowledge of the parts of an human body, and of other animals, by diſſection. Thoſe who have written upon anatomy amongſt the antients, are Hippocrates, Democritus, Ariſtotle, Eraſiſtratus, Galen, *Herophylus, and many others, who perfectly knew the neceſſity of it, and conſidered it as the moſt important part of phyſic, without which it was impoſſible to know the uſe of the parts of an human body, and conſequently the cauſes of diſeaſes. It was, however, entirely renounced for many ages, and was not re-inſtated till the ſixteenth century. The diſſection of an human body was

* *According to Tertullian, this Herophylus, in order to know the human body, diſſected a very great number of bodies.*

held ſacrilege till the reign of Francis I, and there is a conſultation extant, which the Emperor Charles V. cauſed the profeſſors of Theology at Salamanca to hold, in order to inquire whether an human body might be diſſected for the knowledge of its ſtructure with a ſafe conſcience. Veſal, a Flemiſh phyſician, who died in 1564, was the firſt who revived and methodiſed what is called anatomy.

Since him, anatomy has made a great progreſs, and been much improved. One of the diſcoveries, which have done moſt honour to the moderns, is the circulation of the blood. The motion by which the blood is carried ſeveral times a day from the heart into all the parts of the body by the arteries, and returns from thoſe parts to the heart by the veins, is ſo called. HARVEY, a celebrated Engliſh doctor, is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcovered this circulation, which is now admitted by all phyſicians. There are ſome, however, who deny him this glory, and even pretend that Hippocrates, Ariſtotle, and Plato knew it before him. That may be: but they made ſo little uſe of it, that it is almoſt the ſame as if they had been ignorant of it; and as much may be ſaid of them in reſpect to many other phyſical matters.

In 1628.

THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE ARTS and SCIENCES OF THE ANTIENTS, &c.

## OF THE MATHEMATICS.

THE MATHEMATICS hold the firſt place amongſt the ſciences, becauſe they alone are founded upon infallible demonſtrations. And this undoubtedly gave them their name. For *Matheſis* in Greek ſignifies ſcience.

I ſhall conſider particularly in this place only Geometry and Aſtronomy, which are the principal branches of mathematical knowledge; to which I ſhall add ſome other parts, that have an eſſential relation to them.

I muſt confeſs, to my ſhame, that the ſubjects I am going to treat on are abſolutely unknown to me, except the hiſtorical part of them. But, by the privilege I have aſſumed, with which the public does not ſeem to be offended, it is in my power to apply the riches of others to my own uſe. What treaſures have I not found upon this occaſion in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences! If I could have taken all I have ſaid upon ſuch ſublime and abſtracted ſubjects from them, I ſhould have no occaſion to fear for myſelf.

## CHAPTER I.

## OF GEOMETRY.

THE word *Geometry* ſignifies, literally, *the art of meaſuring the earth.* The Egyptians are ſaid to have invented it, on account of the inundations of the Nile. For, that river carrying away the land-marks every year, and leſſening ſome eſtates to enlarge others, the Egyptians were obliged to meaſure their country often, and for that purpoſe to contrive a method and art, which was the origin and beginning of geometry. This reaſon might have induced the Egyptians to cultivate geometry with the more care and attention, but its origin is undoubtedly of a more antient date.

Herod. l. 2. c. 109. Strab. l. 17. p. 787.

However that be, it paſſed from Egypt into Greece, and Thales of Miletus is believed to have carried it thither, at his return from his travels. Pythagoras alſo placed it in great honour, and admitted no diſciples who had not learnt the principles of geometry.

Geometry is to be conſidered in two different views, either as a ſpeculative, or a practical ſcience.

Geometry, as a ſpeculative ſcience, conſiders the figure and extent of bodies according to three different dimenſions, length, breadth, and thickneſs, which form three ſpecies of extent, lines, ſuperficies, and ſolids, or ſolid bodies. Accordingly it compares the different lines with each other, and determines their equality or inequality. It ſhews alſo how much greater the one is than the other. It does the ſame in reſpect to ſuperficies. For inſtance, it demonſtrates that a triangle is the half of a parallelogram of the ſame baſe and height; that two circles are in proportion to each other as the

ſquares

ſquares of their diameters; that is to ſay, that, if the one be three times as large as the other, the firſt will contain nine times as much ſpace as the latter. And, laſtly, it conſiders Solids or the quantities of bodies in the ſame manner. It ſhews, that a pyramid is the third of a priſm of the ſame baſe and height: that a ſphere or globe is two thirds of a cylinder circumſcribed, that is to ſay, a cylinder of the ſame heighth and breadth: that globes are in the ſame proportion with each other as the cubes of their diameters. If, for example, the diameter of one globe be four times as large as that of another, the firſt globe is ſixty-four times as much in quantity as the ſecond. Accordingly, if they are of the ſame matter, the former will weigh ſixty-four times as much as the other, becauſe 64 is the cube of 4.

Practical geometry, founded upon the theory of the ſpeculative, is ſolely employed in meaſuring the three ſpecies of extent, lines, ſuperficies, and ſolids. It teaches us, for example, how to meaſure the diſtance of two objects from each other, the height of a tower, and the extent of land: how to divide a ſuperficies into as many parts as we pleaſe, of which the one may be twice, thrice, four times, &c. as large as another. It ſhews us how to gage caſks, and the manner of finding the contents of any other veſſels uſed either to hold liquids or ſolids. It not only meaſures different objects upon the ſurface of the earth, but the globe of the earth itſelf, by determining the extent of its circumference, and the length of its diameter. It goes ſo far as to ſhew the diſtance of the moon from the earth. It even ventures to meaſure that of the ſun, and its magnitude in reſpect to the terreſtrial globe.

The moſt illuſtrious philoſophers made this ſcience their peculiar ſtudy: Anaxagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, Architas, Eudoxus, and many others, of whom I ſhall only ſpeak of the moſt known, and thoſe whoſe works are come down to us.

Ant. J. C. 300. EUCLID. We ſhall ſpeak of him in the ſequel.

ARISTÆUS the elder. He ſeems to have been Euclid's cotemporary. He wrote five books upon *ſolid places*, that is to ſay, as Pappus explains it, upon the three Conic Sections.

Ant. J. C. 250. APOLLONIUS PERGÆUS, ſo called from a city of Pamphylia. He lived in the Reign of Ptolomy Evergetes, and collected all that the moſt learned geometricians had written upon conic ſections before him, of which he made eight books, which came down entire to the time of Pappus of Alexandria, who compoſed a kind of introduction to that work. The four laſt books of Apollonius were afterwards loſt. But in 1658 the famous John Alphonſo Borelli, paſſing through Florence, found an Arabian manuſcript in the library of the Medicis, with this inſcription in Latin, *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum Libri octo.* They were tranſlated into Latin.

ARCHIMEDES. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of him a little.

PAPPUS of Alexandria flouriſhed in the reign of Theodoſius, in the 395th year of Chriſt. He compoſed a collection upon geometrical ſubjects in eight books, of which the two firſt are loſt. The Abbé Gallois, when the academy of ſciences aſſumed a new form in 1699, undertook to work upon the geometry of the antients, and particularly upon Pappus's collection, of which he was for printing the Greek text, that had never been done, and for correcting the very defective Latin verſion. It is a misfortune for the commonwealth of letters, that this was only intended.

Of the geometricians I have mentioned, the two moſt illuſtrious, and who have done moſt honour to geometry, but in a different degree of merit, were Euclid and Archimedes. Euclid is only an author of elements: but Archimedes is a ſublime geometrician, whom even the moſt learned in the new methods admire to this day.

EUCLID.

## EUCLID.

EUCLID the mathematician was of Alexandria, where he taught in the reign of Ptolomy the ſon of Lagus. We muſt not confound him, as Valerius Maximus has done, with another Euclid of Megara, the founder of the ſect of philoſophers, called the Megaric ſect, who lived in the time of Socrates and Plato, that is to ſay, above fourſcore years before the mathematician. Euclid ſeems to have made Speculative Geometry his ſole and principal ſtudy. He has left us a Work, intitled, *The elements of geometry*, in fifteen books. It is however doubted, whether the two laſt are his. His elements contain a ſeries of Propoſitions, which are the baſis and foundation of all the other parts of the mathematics. This book is conſidered as one of the moſt precious monuments come down to us from the antients, in reſpect to natural knowledge. He wrote alſo upon optics, catoptrics, muſic, and other learned ſubjects.

It hath been obſerved, that the famous M. Paſcal, at twelve years of age, without having ever read any book of geometry, or knowing any thing more of that Science, except that it taught the method of making exact figures, and of finding their proportions to each other, proceeded, by the ſtrength of his genius only, to the 32d propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid.

## ARCHIMEDES.

All the world knows that Archimedes was of Syracuſe, and a near relation to king Hiero. What I have ſaid of him with ſufficient extent, in ſpeaking of the ſiege of Syracuſe by the Romans, diſpenſes with my repeating his hiſtory in this place. He was, of himſelf and by natural inclination, ſolely intent upon whatever is moſt noble, moſt exalted, and moſt abſtracted in geometry; and ſome of his works

Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

works of this kind, of which he compoſed a great number, are come down to us. It was only at the requeſt and warm inſtances of king Hiero, his relation, that he ſuffered himſelf at length to be perſuaded to bring down his art, from ſoaring perpetually after intellectual and ſpiritual things, ſometimes to things ſenſible and corporeal, and to render his reaſonings in ſome ſort more evident and palpable to the generality of mankind, in mingling them by experiments with things of uſe. We have ſeen what ſervices he did his country at the ſiege of Syracuſe, and the aſtoniſhing machines that came from his induſtrious hands. He however ſet no value upon them, and conſidered them as paſtime and amuſement, in compariſon with thoſe ſublime reaſonings that gratified his inclination and taſte for truth in a quite different manner. The world is never more indebted to theſe great geometricians, than when they deſcend to act thus for its ſervice; it is a ſacrifice which coſts them much, becauſe it tears them from a pleaſure of which they are infinitely fond, but to which they think themſelves obliged, as indeed they are for the honour of geometry, to prefer the good of the public.

Diog. Laert. in Archim. Plut. in Marcel. p. 305.

Eudoxus and Architas were the firſt inventors of this kind of mechanics, and reduced them to practice, to vary and unbend geometry by this kind of amuſement, and to prove by ſenſible and inſtrumental experiments ſome problems, which did not appear ſuſceptible of demonſtration by reaſoning and practice: which are Plutarch's own words. He cites here the problem of the two means proportional for obtaining the duplication of the cube, which could never be geometrically reſolved before Deſcartes did it. Plutarch adds, that Plato was much offended at them on this account, and reproached them with having corrupted the excellency of geometry, in making it deſcend, like a mean ſlave, from intellectual and ſpiritual, to ſenſible, things;

things, and in obliging it to employ matter, which requires the work of the hands, and is the object of a low and ſervile trade; and that from thenceforth thoſe Mechanics were ſeparated from geometry, as unworthy of it. This delicacy is ſingular, and would have deprived human ſociety of a great number of aids, and geometry of the only part of it, that can recommend it to mankind; becauſe, if it were not applied to things ſenſible and of uſe, it would [illegible] for the amuſement of a very ſmall number of contemplative perſons.

The two celebrated geometricians, whom I have diſtinguiſhed from the multitude, Euclid and Archimedes, univerſally eſteemed by the learned though in a different degree, ſhew how far the antients carried their knowledge in geometry. But it muſt be confeſſed, that it ſoared to a quite different height, and almoſt entirely changed its aſpect in the laſt age, by the new ſyſtem of the Infinitely ſmall, or Differential calculation, for which no doubt the particular application beſtowed till then upon this ſtudy, and the happy diſcoveries made in it, had prepared the way. The advances we make in ſcience are progreſſive. Every acquiſition of knowledge does not reveal itſelf, till after the diſcovery of a certain number of things neceſſarily previous to it; and, when it comes to its turn to diſcloſe itſelf, it caſts a light that attracts all eyes upon it. The period was arrived, wherein geometry was to bring forth the calculation of Infinites. NEWTON was the firſt that made this wonderful diſcovery, and Leibnitz the firſt that publiſhed it. All the great geometricians entered with ardour the paths that had been lately opened for them, in which they advanced with giant ſteps. In proportion as their boldneſs in treating Infinites increaſed, geometry extended her bounds. The Infinite exalted every thing to a ſublimity, and at the ſame time led on to a facility in every thing, of which no-body had ventured ſo much as to conceive

any

any hopes before. And this is the Period of an almoſt total revolution in geometry.

I have ſaid that Newton firſt diſcovered this wonderful calculation, and that Leibnitz publiſhed it firſt. The latter, in 1684, actually inſerted the rules of the differential calculation, in the acts of Leipſic, but concealed the demonſtrations of them. The illuſtrious brothers, the Bernoulli's, diſcovered them though very difficult, and uſed this calculation with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. The moſt exalted, the boldeſt, and moſt unexpected ſolutions roſe up under their hands. In 1687 appeared Newton's admirable work, upon *the mathematical principles of natural philoſophy*, which was almoſt entirely founded upon this calculation; and he had the modeſty not to exclaim againſt the Rules of Mr. Leibnitz. It was generally believed that each of them had diſcovered this new ſyſtem, through the conformity of their great talents and learning. A diſpute aroſe on this occaſion, which was carried on by their adherents on both ſides with ſufficient warmth. Newton cannot be denied the glory of having been the inventor of this new ſyſtem; but Mr. Leibnitz ought not to be branded with the infamous name of a plagiary, nor to have the ſhame of a theft laid upon him, which he denied with a boldneſs and impudence very remote from the character of ſo great a man.

In the firſt years the geometry of the Infinitely ſmall was only a kind of myſtery. Solutions frequently came out in the Journals, of which the method that produced them was not ſuffered to appear; and, even when it was diſcovered, only ſome feeble rays of that ſcience eſcaped, which were ſoon loſt again in clouds and darkneſs. The public, or more properly, the ſmall number of thoſe who aſpired at elevated geometry, were ſtruck with an uſeleſs admiration, that made them never the wiſer; and means were found to acquire their applauſe, with-

out imparting the inſtruction, with which it ought to have been deſerved. Mr. l'Hopital, that ſublime genius, who has done geometry and France ſo much honour, reſolved to communicate the hidden treaſures of the new geometry without reſerve, and he did ſo in the famous book called *the Analyſis of the Infinitely ſmall*, which he publiſhed in 1696. He there unveiled all the ſecrets of the geometrical infinite, and of the infinite of infinite; in a word, all the different orders of infinites, which riſe upon one another, and form the boldeſt and moſt amazing ſuperſtructure that human wit has ever ventured to imagine. It is in this manner Sciences attain their perfection.

As, in ſpeaking of geometry, I travel in a country entirely unknown to me, I have ſcarce done any thing, beſides copying and abridging what I found upon the ſubject in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences. But I thought it incumbent on me to add the advantageous teſtimony, which Mr. l'Hopital, of whom I have juſt ſpoken, gives in a few lines of Mr. Leibnitz, on account of the invention of the calculation of infinites, in his preface to the Analyſis of the Infinitely ſmall. "His calculation, "ſays he, has carried him into regions hitherto un- "known, where he has made diſcoveries that "aſtoniſh the moſt profound Mathematicians of "Europe."

I add here another paſſage from the preface, but longer, that ſeems to me a model of the wiſe and moderate manner, with which one ought to think and ſpeak of the great men of Antiquity, even when we prefer the Moderns to them.

"What the Antients have left us upon theſe "ſubjects, and eſpecially Archimedes, is certainly "worthy of admiration. But, beſides their having "touched very little upon Curves, and that too "very ſuperficially, almoſt all they have done upon "that head are particular and detached propoſi-

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" tions that do not imply any regular and coherent " method. They cannot however be juſtly re- " proached on that account. It required exceeding " force of genius to penetrate through ſo many ob- " ſcurities, and to enter firſt into regions ſo entirely " unknown. If they were not far from them, if " they went by round-about ways, at leaſt they did " not go aſtray; and the more difficult and thorny " the paths they followed were, the more they are " to be admired for not loſing themſelves in the[m]. " In a word, it does not ſeem poſſible for the An- " tients to have done more in their time. They " have done what our beſt Moderns would have " done in their places; and, if they were in ours, it " is to be believed they would have had the ſame " views with us.——

" It is therefore no wonder that the antients went " no farther. But one cannot be ſufficiently ſur- " priſed, that great men, and no doubt as great " men as the antients, ſhould continue there ſo " long; and, through an almoſt ſuperſtitious admi- " ration for their works, content themſelves with " reading and commenting upon them, without " allowing themſelves any farther uſe of their own " talents than what ſufficed for following them, " and without daring to venture the crime of think- " ing ſometimes for themſelves, and of extending " their views beyond what the antients had diſco- " vered. In this manner many ſtudied, wrote, " and multiplied books, whilſt no advancements " at all were made. All the labours of many ages " had no other tendency than to fill the world with " obſequious comments, and repeated tranſlations " of originals, often contemptible enough. Such " was the ſtate of the mathematics, and eſpecially " of philoſophy, till Monſieur Deſcartes."

I return now to my ſubject. We are ſometimes tempted to think the time very indifferently employed, that perſons of wit beſtow upon abſtracted ſtudies,

ſtudies, which ſeem of no immediate utility, and only proper to ſatisfy a vain curoſity. To think in this manner is contrary to reaſon; becauſe we make ourſelves judges of what we neither know, nor are qualified to know.

It is indeed true, that all the ſpeculations of pure geometry or algebra are not immediately applied to uſeful things, but they either lead or relate to thoſe that do. Beſides which, a geometrical ſpeculation, which has at firſt no uſeful object, comes in time to be applicable to uſe. When the greateſt geometricians of the ſeventeenth century ſtudied a new Curve, which they called the *Cycloid*, it was only a mere ſpeculation, in which they ſolely engaged through the vanity of diſcovering difficult theorems, in emulation of each other. They did not ſo much as pretend, that they were labouring for the good of the public. The Cycloid however was found, upon a ſtrict inquiry into its nature, to be deſtined to give pendulums all poſſible perfection, and the meaſure of time its utmoſt exactneſs.

Beſides the aids which every branch of the mathematics derives from geometry, the ſtudy of this ſcience is of infinite advantage in the uſes of life. It is always good to think and reaſon right; and it has been juſtly ſaid, that there is no better practical logic than geometry. Though Numbers and Lines abſolutely tended to nothing, they would always be the only certain knowledge, of which we are capable by the light of nature, and would ſerve as the ſureſt means to give our reaſon the firſt habitude and bent of truth. They would teach us to operate upon truths, to trace the chain of them ſubtile and almoſt imperceptible as it frequently is, and to follow them to the utmoſt extent of which they are capable: in fine, they would render the True ſo familiar to us, that we ſhould be able, on many occaſions, to know it at firſt glance, and almoſt by inſtinct.

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The geometrical ſpirit is not ſo much confined to geometry, that it cannot be taken off from it, and transferred to other branches of knowledge. Works of moral philoſophy, politics, criticiſm, and even eloquence, *cæteris paribus*, would have additional beauties, if compoſed by geometricians. The order, perſpicuity, diſtinction, and exactneſs, which have prevailed in good books for ſome time paſt, may very probably have derived themſelves from this geometrical ſpirit, which ſpreads more than ever, and in ſome ſort communicates itſelf from author to author, even to thoſe who know nothing of geometry. A great man is ſometimes followed by the whole age he lives in; and the perſon, to whom the glory of having eſtabliſhed a new Art of reaſoning may juſtly be aſcribed, was an excellent geometrician.

Deſcartes.

## OF ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

ARITHMETIC is a part of the mathematics. It is a ſcience which teaches all the various operations of numbers, and demonſtrates their properties. It is neceſſary in many operations of geometry, and therefore ought to precede it. The Greeks are ſaid to have received it from the Phœnicians.

The antients, who have treated arithmetic with moſt exactneſs, are Euclid, Nicomachus, Diophantus of Alexandria, and Theon of Smyrna.

It was difficult for either the Greeks or the Romans to ſucceed much in arithmetic, as both uſed only the letters of the alphabet for numbers, the multiplication of which, in great calculations, neceſſarily occaſioned abundance of trouble. The Arabic cyphers now uſed, which have not above four hundred years of antiquity, are infinitely more commodious, and contributed very much to the improvement of arithmetic.

ALGE

ALGEBRA is a part of the mathematics, which upon quantity in general expreſſed by the letters of the alphabet does all the operations done by arithmetic upon number. The characters it uſes, ſignifying nothing of themſelves, may intend any ſpecies of quantity, which is one of the principal advantages of this ſcience. Beſides theſe characters, it uſes certain ſigns that infinitely abridge its operations, and render them abundantly clearer. By the help of algebra moſt of the problems of the mathematics may be reſolved, provided they are capable of ſolution. It was not entirely unknown to the Antients. Plato is believed the inventor of it. Theon, in his treatiſe upon arithmetic, gives it the name of *analyſis*.

All great mathematicians are well verſed in algebra, or at leaſt ſufficiently for indiſpenſable uſe. But this knowledge, when carried beyond this ordinary uſe, is ſo perplexed, ſo thick ſown with difficulties, ſo clogged with immenſe calculations, and, in a word, ſo hideous, that few people have heroic courage enough to plunge into ſuch dark and profound abyſſes. Certain ſhining theories, in which refinement of wit ſeems to have more ſhare than ſeverity of labour, are much more alluring. However, the more ſublime geometry is become inſeparable from algebra. Mr. Rolle, amongſt the French, has carried this knowledge as high as poſſible, for which he had a natural inclination and a kind of inſtinct, that made him devour all the aſperity, and, I had almoſt ſaid, horror of this ſtudy, not only with patience but delight.

I ſhall not enter into a circumſtantial account of arithmetic and algebra, which far exceeds my capacity, and would neither be uſeful nor agreeable to the reader.

It has been, for ſome years, an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, in the univerſity of Paris, to explain the elements of theſe ſciences in the claſſes of philoſophy, by way

of introduction to the phyſics. This laſt part of philoſophy, in its preſent ſtate, is almoſt a ſyſtem of enigma's to thoſe who have not at leaſt ſome tincture of the principles of the mathematics. Accordingly the moſt learned profeſſors have conceived it neceſſary to begin with them, in order to make any progreſs in the phyſics. Beſides the advantages which reſult from the mathematics, in reſpect to the phyſics, thoſe who teach them, in their Claſſes, find that the youth, who apply themſelves to them, acquire an exactneſs of mind, a cloſe way of thinking, which they retain in all the other ſciences. Thoſe two conſiderations ſuffice to ſhew our obligation to the profeſſors who firſt introduced this cuſtom, which is now become almoſt general in the univerſity.

Mr. Rivard, profeſſor of philoſophy in the college of Beauvais, has compoſed a treatiſe upon this ſubject, which contains the elements of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, wherein every thing is ſaid to be explained with ſufficient extent, and all poſſible exactneſs and perſpicuity. A ſecond edition of this work has been lately publiſhed with conſiderable additions.

## OF THE MECHANICS.

THE Mechanics are a ſcience, that teaches the nature of the moving Powers, the art of deſigning all kinds of machines, and of removing any weight by the means of levers, wedges, pullies, wheels, *&c.* Many, who conſider the mechanics only on the ſide of Practice, ſet little value upon them, becauſe they ſeem to belong ſolely to workmen, and to require the hands only, and not the underſtanding: but a different judgment is paſſed upon them, when conſidered on the ſide of their Theory, which is capable of employing the moſt exalted genius. It is beſides the ſcience that guides the hands of the workman, and by which he brings his inventions to perfection. A ſlight idea, dropt

even by the ignorant, and the effect of chance, is afterwards often purſued by degrees to ſupreme perfection, by perſons profoundly ſkilled in geometry and mechanics. This happened in reſpect to teleſcopes, which owe their birth to the ſon of an Hollander that made ſpectacles. Holding a convex glaſs in one hand, and a concave one in the other, and looking through them without deſign, he perceived that diſtant objects appeared much larger, and more diſtinct, than when he ſaw them only with his eyes. Galileo, Kepler, and Deſcartes, by the rules of the dioptrics, carried this invention, groſs as it was in its beginning, a great way, which has ſince been much more improved.

The moſt celebrated authors of antiquity, who have written upon the mechanics, are Architas of Tarentum; Ariſtotle; Æneas his cotemporary, whoſe Tactics are ſtill extant, in which he treats of machines of war, a work which Cineas, the friend of Pyrrhus, abridged; Archimedes particularly, of whom we have ſpoke before; Athenæus, who dedicated his book upon machines to Marcellus, that took Syracuſe; and lately Heron of Alexandria, of whom we have ſeveral treatiſes.

Of all the works upon the mechanics come down to us from the antients, only thoſe of Archimedes treat this ſcience in all its extent, but often with great obſcurity. The ſiege of Syracuſe ſhews, how high his abilities in mechanics roſe. It is no wonder, that the moderns, after the many Phyſical Diſcoveries made in the laſt Century, have carried that ſcience much farther than the antients. The Machines of Archimedes however ſtill amaze the moſt profound in the Mechanics of our times.

If all the advantages of the mechanics were to be particularly ſhewn, it would be neceſſary to deſcribe all the machines uſed heretofore on different times and occaſions, both in war and peace, as well as thoſe now uſed either for neceſſity or diverſion.

It is upon the principles of this ſcience that the conſtruction of wind and water mills for different uſes is founded; of moſt of the machines uſed in war, both in the attack and defence of places; of thoſe which are employed in great numbers for the raiſing of heavy weights in building, and of water by pumps, wheels, and all the various engines for that uſe; in a word, we are indebted to the mechanics for an infinity of very uſeful and curious works.

## OF THE STATICS.

THE Statics are a ſcience, that makes part of the mixed mathematics. It conſiders ſolid bodies in reſpect to their weight, and lays down rules for moving them, and for placing them *in æquilibrio*.

The great principle of this ſcience is, that, when the maſſes of two unequal bodies are in reciprocal proportion to their velocities, that is to ſay, when the quantity of maſs of the one contains that of the other, as much as the ſwiftneſs of the ſecond contains that of the firſt, their quantities of motion, or powers, are equal. From this principle it follows, that with a very ſmall body a much greater may be moved: or, which is the ſame thing, that with a certain given power any weight whatſoever may be moved. In order to this, the velocity of the moving power is only to be augmented, in proportion to the weight of the body to be moved.

This appears evidently in the Lever, on which almoſt all mechanical machines depend. The point, on which it is ſupported, is called the point fixed, or point of ſupport. The extent from that point to one of the extremities, is called the diſtance from the point of ſupport, or *radius*. The bodies at the two extremities of the lever, are called weights. If one of theſe weights be only half the other, and its diſtance twice as far from the point fixed, the

two

two weights will be *in æquilibrio*, becauſe then the velocity of the leaſt will contain that of the greateſt, in the ſame manner as the maſs of the greateſt will contain that of the leaſt; for their velocities are in the ſame proportion to each other, as their diſtances from the point of ſupport. According to this hypotheſis, by augmenting the diſtance of the weight which is but half the other, the lighter will raiſe up the heavier.

It was upon this principle Archimedes told king Hiero, that, if he had a place off the earth, where he could fix himſelf and his inſtruments, he could move it as he thought fit at will. To prove what he ſaid, and to ſhew that prince, that the greateſt weight might be moved with ſmall force, he made the experiment before him upon one of the largeſt of his galleys, which had double the lading it uſed to carry put on board it, and which he made move forward upon the land without difficulty, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine he had prepared for that purpoſe.

The HYDROSTATICS conſiders the effects of weight in liquids, whether in liquids alone, or in liquids acting upon ſolids, or reciprocally. It was by the Hydroſtatics, that Archimedes diſcovered what a goldſmith had ſtolen from king Hiero's crown, in which he had mingled other metal with gold. His joy was ſo great for having found this ſecret, that he leaped out of the bath without conſidering he was naked, and, ſolely intent upon his diſcovery, went home in that condition, to make the experiment, crying out through the ſtreets, *I have found it, I have found it.*

Plut. in Moral. p. 1094.

## CHAPTER II.

## OF ASTRONOMY.

*Memoires de l'Academ. des Sciences, Vol. VIII.*

MR. Caſſini has left us an excellent treatiſe upon the origin and progreſs of aſtronomy, which I ſhall only abridge in this place.

It is not to be doubted but aſtronomy was invented from the beginning of the world. As there is nothing more ſurpriſing than the regularity of thoſe great luminous bodies that turn inceſſantly round the earth, it is eaſy to judge that one of the firſt curioſities of mankind was to conſider their courſes, and to obſerve the periods of them. But it was not curioſity only that induced men to apply themſelves to aſtronomical ſpeculations: neceſſity itſelf may be ſaid to have obliged them to it. For, if the ſeaſons are not obſerved, which are diſtinguiſhed by the motion of the ſun, it is impoſſible to ſucceed in agriculture. If the times proper for making voyages were not previouſly known, commerce could not be carried on. If the duration of the month and year were not determined, a certain order could not be eſtabliſhed in civil affairs, nor the days allotted to the exerciſe of religion be fixed. Thus, as neither agriculture, commerce, polity, nor religion could diſpenſe with the want of aſtronomy, it is evident that mankind were obliged to apply themſelves to that ſcience, from the beginning of the world.

Ptolom. Almageſt. l. 4. c. 2.

What Ptolomy relates of the obſervations of the heavens, by which Hipparchus reformed aſtronomy almoſt two thouſand years ago, proves ſufficiently, that, in the moſt antient times, and even before the flood, this ſcience was much ſtudied. And

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it is no wonder, that the remembrance of the aſtronomical obſervations, made during the firſt ages of of the world, ſhould be preſerved even after the flood, if what Joſephus relates be true, that the deſcendants of Seth, to preſerve the remembrance of the celeſtial obſervations which they had made, engraved the principal of them upon two pillars, the one of brick, and the other of ſtone; that the pillar of brick withſtood the waters of the deluge, and that, even in his time, there were remains of it to be ſeen in Syria. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1.

It is agreed that aſtronomy was cultivated in a particular manner by the Chaldæans. The height of the tower of Babel, which the vanity of men erected about an hundred and fifty years after the flood, the * level and extenſive plains of that country, the nights in which they breathed the freſh air after the troubleſome heats of the day, an unbroken horizon, a pure and ſerene ſky, all conſpired to engage that people to contemplate the vaſt extent of the heavens, and the motions of the ſtars. From Chaldæa aſtronomy [illegible] into Egypt, and ſoon after was carried into Phœnicia, when they began to apply its ſpeculative obſervations to the uſes of navigation, by which the Phœnicians ſoon became maſters of the ſea and of commerce.

What made them bold, in undertaking long voyages, was their cuſtom of ſteering their ſhips by the obſervation of one of the ſtars of the Little Bear, which, being near the immoveable point of the heavens, called the Pole, is the moſt proper to ſerve as a guide in navigation. Other nations, leſs ſkilful in aſtronomy, obſerved only the Great Bear in their voyages. But, as that conſtellation is too far from the pole to be capable of ſerving as a cer- Arat.

* Principio Aſſyrii, propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cùm cœlum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motuſque ſtellarum obſervaverunt—— Qua in natione Chaldæi—diuturna obſervatione ſiderum ſcientiam patantur effeciſſe, &c. *Cic. de Divin. l. 1. n. 2.*

tain guide in long voyages, they did not dare to ſtand out ſo far to ſea, as to loſe ſight of the coaſts; and, if a ſtorm happened to drive them into the main ocean, or upon ſome unknown ſhore, it was impoſſible for them to know by the heavens into what part of the world the tempeſt had carried them.

Diog. Laert. l. 1. Thales, having at length brought the ſcience of the ſtars from Phœnicia into Greece, taught the Greeks to know the conſtellation of the Little Bear, and to make uſe of it as their guide in navigation. He alſo taught them the theory of the motion of the ſun and moon, by which he accounted for the length and ſhortneſs of the days; determined the number of the days of the Solar year, and not only explained the cauſe of Eclipſes, but ſhewed the art of foretelling them, which he even reduced to practice, foretelling an eclipſe which happened ſoon after. The merit of a knowledge ſo uncommon in thoſe days made him paſs for the oracle of his times, and occaſioned his being given the firſt place amongſt the ſeven Sages of Greece.

Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Anaximander was his diſciple, to whom Pliny and Diogenes Laertius aſcribe the invention of the ſphere, that is to ſay, the repreſentation of the terreſtrial globe; or, according to Strabo, geographical maps. Anaximander is ſaid alſo to have erected a gnomon at Sparta, by the means of which he obſerved the equinoxes and ſolſtices; and to have determined the obliquity of the ecliptic more exactly than had ever been done before; which was neceſſary for dividing the terreſtrial globe into five Zones, and for diſtinguiſhing the Climates, that were afterwards uſed by geographers for ſhewing the ſituation of all the places of the earth.

Strab. l. 1. p. 7. Diog. Laert. l. 2.

Upon the inſtructions which the Greeks had received from Thales and Anaximander, they ventured into the main ſea, and, ſailing to various remote countries, planted many colonies in them.

Aſtronomy

Aſtronomy was ſoon made amends for the advantages ſhe had procured navigation. For, commerce having opened the reſt of the world to the learned of Greece, they acquired great lights from their conferences with the prieſts of Egypt, who made the ſcience of the ſtars their peculiar profeſſion. They learnt alſo many things from the philoſophers of the ſect of Pythagoras in Italy, who had made ſo great a progreſs in this Science, that they ventured to reject the received opinions of all the world concerning the order of nature and aſcribed perpetual reſt to the ſun, and motion to the earth. Ariſt. de Cœl. l. 2. c. 13.

Meton diſtinguiſhed himſelf very much at Athens by his particular application to aſtronomy, and by the great ſucceſs with which his pains were rewarded. He lived in the time of the Peloponneſian war; and, when the Athenians were fitting out a fleet againſt Sicily, foreſeeing that expedition would be attended with fatal conſequences, he counterfeited the madman, to avoid having a ſhare in it, and ſetting out with the other citizens. It was he that invented what is called the *Golden Number*, in order to make the Lunar and Solar years agree. That Number is a revolution of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon returns to the ſame place and days, and renews its courſe with the ſun, at the difference of about an hour and ſome minutes. Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532. Diod. Sicul. l. 12. p. 94.

The Greeks improved alſo from their commerce with the Druids, * who amongſt many other things, ſays Julius Cæſar, which they taught their youth, inſtructed them particularly in the motion of the ſtars, and the magnitude of the heavens and the earth, that is to ſay, in aſtronomy and geography.

This kind of learning is more antient in the Gauls, than is generally imagined. Strabo has preſerved a famous obſervation, made by Pytheas at Strab. l. 2. p. 115.

* Multa præterea de ſideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura——diſputant, & juventuti tradunt. *Cæſ. de Bell. Gall.* l. 6.

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Marſeilles above two thouſand years ago, concerning the proportion of the ſhadow of the ſun to the length of a gnomon at the time of the ſolſtice. If the circumſtances of this obſervation were exactly known, it would ſerve to reſolve an important queſtion, which is, whether the obliquity of the ecliptic be ſubject to any change.

Strab. l. 2. p. 115. Pytheas was not contented with making obſervations in his own country. His paſſion for aſtronomy and geography made him run over all Europe, from the pillars of Hercules to the mouths of the Tanais. He went by the weſtern ocean very far towards the Arctic pole, and obſerved that, in proportion as he advanced, the days grew longer at the ſummer ſolſtice, ſo that in a certain climate there was but three hours night, and farther only two, till at laſt in the iſland of Thule the ſun roſe almoſt as ſoon as it ſet, the tropic continuing entirely above the horizon of that iſle; which happens in Iceland, and the northern parts of Norway, as modern accounts inform us. Strabo, who imagined that thoſe climates were uninhabitable, accuſes Pytheas of falſhood, and blames the credulity of Eratoſthenes and Hipparchus, who, upon Pytheas's authority, ſaid the ſame thing of the iſland of Thule. But, the accounts of modern travellers having fully juſtified Pytheas, we may give him the glory of being the firſt that advanced towards the pole to countries before believed uninhabitable, and who diſtinguiſhed Climates by the different length of days and nights.

About Pytheas's time, the Learned of Greece having conceived a taſte for aſtronomy, many great men of them applied themſelves to it in emulation of each other. Eudoxus, after having been ſome time the diſciple of Plato, was not ſatisfied with what was taught upon that ſubject in the ſchools of Athens. He therefore went to Egypt to cultivate that ſcience at its ſource, and, having obtained a

letter

letter of recommendation from Ageſilaus king of Sparta to Nectanebus king of Egypt, he remained ſixteen months with the aſtronomers of that country, in order to improve himſelf by conſulting them. At his return he compoſed ſeveral books upon aſtronomy, and amongſt others the deſcription of the conſtellations, which Aratus turned into verſe ſome time after by the order of Antigonus.

Ariſtotle, the cotemporary of Eudoxus, and alſo Plato's diſciple, made uſe of aſtronomy for improving the phyſics and geography. By the obſervations of the aſtronomers, he determined the figure and magnitude of the earth. He demonſtrated that it was ſpherical by the roundneſs of its ſhadow, which appeared upon the diſk of the moon in eclipſes, and by the inequality of the meridian altitudes which are different according to their diſtance from, or approach to the poles. Calliſthenes, who was in the train of Alexander the Great, having had occaſion to go to Babylon, found aſtronomical obſervations there, which the Babylonians had made, during the ſpace of eighteen hundred and three years, and ſent them to Ariſtotle. Ariſt. de Cœl. l. 2. c. 14.

After Alexander's death, the princes, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Egypt took ſo much care to attract the moſt famous aſtronomers to their courts by their liberality, that Alexandria, the capital of their kingdom, ſoon became, to uſe the expreſſion, the ſeat of aſtronomy. The famous Conon made abundance of obſervations there, but they are not come down to us. Ariſtyllus and Timochares obſerved the declination of the fixed ſtars there, the knowledge of which is abſolutely neceſſary to geography and navigation. Eratoſthenes made obſervations upon the ſun in the ſame city, which ſerved him for meaſuring the circumference of the earth. Hipparchus, who reſided alſo at Alexandria, was the firſt who laid the foundation for a methodical aſtronomy, when, upon the appearance of a new Ptol. Almag. l. 7. Cleomed. l. 1. A. D. 147.

fixed

fixed ſtar, he took the number of the fixed ſtars, in order that future ages might know, whether any more new ones appeared. The fixed ſtars amounted then to a thouſand and twenty-two. He not only deſcribed their motion round the poles of the ecliptic, but applied himſelf alſo to regulate the theory of the motions of the ſun and moon.

Ptol. Almag. l. 3—7.

The Romans, who aſpired to the empire of the world, took care at different times to cauſe deſcriptions of the principal parts of the earth to be made, a work which implied ſome knowledge of the ſtars. Scipio Africanus the younger, during the war with Carthage, gave Polybius ſhips, in order to view the coaſts of Africa, Spain, and the Gauls.

Pompey correſponded with the learned aſtronomer and excellent geographer, Poſſidonius, who undertook to meaſure the circumference of the earth by celeſtial obſervations, made at different places under the ſame meridian, in order to reduce into degrees the diſtances, which the Romans till then had meaſured only by *ſtadia* (or furlongs) and miles.

Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

Cleomed. l. 1.

In order to ſettle the difference of Climates, the difference of the length of ſhadows was obſerved, principally at the time of the ſolſtices and equinoxes. Gnomons and Obeliſks had been ſet up for this purpoſe in ſeveral parts of the world, as Pliny and Vitruvius inform us, who have tranſmitted many of thoſe obſervations down to poſterity. The greateſt obeliſks were thoſe of Egypt. Julius and Auguſtus Cæſar cauſed ſome of them to be brought from thence to Rome, as well to ſerve for ornaments of the city, as to give the exact meaſures of the proportion of ſhadows. Auguſtus cauſed one of the greateſt of theſe obeliſks to be placed in the field of Mars, which was an hundred and eleven feet high, without the pedeſtal. He cauſed foundations to be made to it as deep as the obeliſk was high; and, when the obeliſk was placed upon them, he ordered a meridian line to be drawn at bottom; of which the

Plin. l. 2. c. 72, 73, 74. Vitruv. l. 9. c. 4.

Plin. l. 36. c. 10.

the diviſions were made with plates of braſs fixed in ſtone, to ſhew the lengthening or ſhortening of the ſhadows every day at noon, according to the difference of the ſeaſons. And, to ſhew this difference with greater exactneſs, he cauſed a ball to be placed upon the point of that obeliſk, which is ſtill in the field of Mars at Rome, lying in the ground acroſs the cellars of houſes built upon its ruins. By comparing the ſhadows of this obeliſk with thoſe obſerved in ſeveral other parts of the world, the knowledge of the Latitudes ſo neceſſary to the perfection of geography, was attained.

Auguſtus in the mean time cauſed particular deſcriptions of different countries to be made, and principally that of Italy, where the diſtances were marked by miles along the coaſts, and upon the great roads. And at length, in that prince's reign, the general deſcription of the world, at which the Romans had laboured for the ſpace of two ages, was finiſhed from the memoirs of Agrippa, and ſet up in the midſt of Rome, in a great portico built for that purpoſe. Plin. l. 3. c. 3. Ibid. c. 2.

The Itinerary, aſcribed to the emperor Antoninus, may be taken for an abridgment of this great work. For this Itinerary is in effect only a collection of the diſtances which had been meaſured throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire.

In the reign of that wiſe Emperor, Aſtronomy began to aſſume a new face. For Ptolomy, who may be called the reſtorer of this ſcience, improving from the lights of his predeceſſors in it, and adding the obſervations of Hipparchus, Timocharis, and the Babylonians to his own, compoſed a complete body of aſtronomy in an excellent book, intitled, *The great Compoſition*, which contains the theory and tables of the motion of the ſun, moon, and other planets, and of the fixed ſtars. Geography is no leſs indebted to him than aſtronomy, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

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As great works are never perfect in their beginnings, we must not be surprised, that there are abundance of things to amend in Ptolomy's geography. Many ages elapsed without any body's undertaking it. But the Arabian princes, who conquered the countries where astronomy and geography were particularly cultivated and professed, had no sooner declared it their intention to make the utmost improvements in those sciences, than persons capable of contributing to the execution of their design were immediately found. Almamon, Caliph of Babylon, having at that time caused Ptolomy's book, intitled *The great Composition*, which the Arabians called *Almageſt*, to be translated out of Greek into Arabic, many observations were made by his orders; in effect of which the declination of the sun was discovered to be less by one third of a degree than laid down by Ptolomy; and that the motion of the fixed stars was not so slow as he believed it. By the order of the same prince, a great extent of country under the same Meridian was measured, in order to determine the extent of a degree of the earth's circumference.

Thus astronomy and geography were gradually improved. But the art of navigation made a much more considerable progress in a short time by the help of the Compass, of which I shall speak in the sequel.

Almost at the same time that the compass began to be used, the example of the Caliphs excited the princes of Europe to promote the improvement of astronomy. The Emperor Frederic II, not being able to suffer that the Christians should have less knowledge of this science than the Barbarians, caused the Almageſt of Ptolomy to be translated into Latin from the Arabic, from which version Johannes de Sacrobosco, professor in the university of Paris, extracted his work concerning the sphere, upon which the most learned mathematicians of Europe have written commentaries.

In

In Spain, Alphonſo king of Caſtile was at a truly Royal expence for aſſembling learned aſtronomers from all parts. By his orders they applied themſelves to the reformation of Aſtronomy, and compoſed new Tables, which from his name were called the Alphonſine Tables. They did not ſucceed the firſt time in the hypotheſis of the motion of the fixed ſtars, which they ſuppoſed too ſlow; but Alphonſo afterwards corrected their Tables, which have ſince been augmented, and reduced into a more commodious form by different aſtronomers. Calviſ. ad an. 1252.

This work awakened the curioſity of the Learned of Europe, who immediately invented ſeveral kinds of inſtruments for facilitating the Obſervations of the ſtars. They calculated Ephemeriſes, and made tables for finding the declination of the planets at all times, which, with the obſervation of the Meridian Altitudes, ſhews the Latitudes at land ſea. They laboured alſo to facilitate the calculation of Eclipſes, by obſervation of which longitudes are found.

The fruit of theſe aſtronomical labours was the diſcovery of many countries unknown before. I ſhall ſpeak of them elſewhere.

France has alſo produced many illuſtrious men, who excelled in aſtronomy, becauſe it has had great princes, from time to time, who have taken care to excite their ſubjects by rewards to apply to it. Charles V, ſurnamed the Wiſe, cauſed abundance of mathematical books to be tranſlated into French. He founded two profeſſorſhips of mathematics in the college of M. Gervais at Paris, to facilitate the ſtudy of thoſe ſciences to his ſubjects. They flouriſhed principally in the following century through Francis I's inſtitution of two profeſſorſhips in the college royal, for teaching the mathematics in the Capital city of his kingdom. This ſchool produced a conſiderable number of learned men, who inriched the public with many aſtronomical and mathematical

cal works, and formed illuſtrious diſciples, whoſe reputation almoſt obſcured that of their maſters.

Germany and the northern nations alſo produced many excellent aſtronomers, amongſt whom Copernicus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner. But the famous Tycho Brahe much exceeded all the aſtronomers that had preceeded him. Beſides the Theory and the Tables of the ſun and moon, and abundance of fine Obſervations which he made, he compoſed a new Catalogue of the fixed ſtars with ſo much exactneſs, that the author might from that work alone deſerve the name, which ſome have given him, of Reſtorer of aſtronomy.

Whilſt Tycho Brahe was making obſervations in Denmark, ſeveral famous aſtronomers, who aſſembled at Rome under the authority of pope Gregory XIII, laboured with abundance of ſucceſs in correcting the errors which had inſenſibly crept into the antient Calendar, through the preceſſion of the equinoxes, and the anticipation of the new moons. Theſe errors would in proceſs of time have entirely ſubverted the order eſtabliſhed by the councils for the celebration of the Moveable feaſts, if the Calendar had not been reformed according to the modern Obſervations of the motions of the ſun and moon compared with the antient.

In the laſt and preſent ages, an infinity of new diſcoveries have been made, which have rendered aſtronomy incomparably more perfect than it was at its firſt beginning to be taught in Europe. The celebrated Galileo, by the good uſe he made of the invention of teleſcopes, was the firſt who diſcovered things in the heavens which had long paſſed for incredible. Deſcartes may be ranked amongſt the improvers of aſtronomy; for the book he compoſed, upon the principles of philoſophy, ſhews, that he had taken no leſs pains to know the motions of the ſtars, than the other parts of the phyſics; but

but he confined himſelf more to reaſoning upon, than obſerving, them. Gaſſendi applied himſelf more to practical aſtronomy, and publiſhed abundance of very important obſervations.

The eſtabliſhment of the Royal Academy of Sciences may juſtly be conſidered as the means that has contributed moſt to the credit and improvement of aſtronomy in France, by the incredible emulation, which the deſire of ſupporting their reputation, and diſtinguiſhing themſelves, excites in a body of learned men. Lewis XIV. having cauſed the Obſervatory to be built, of which the deſign, magnificence, and ſolidity are equally admirable, the academy, to anſwer his majeſty's intention in erecting that ſuperb edifice, applied themſelves with incredible induſtry to whatever might contribute to the improvement of aſtronomy. I ſhall not particulariſe in this place the important diſcoveries that have been the fruits of this Inſtitution, the learned works of this Society, nor the great men which have done, and ſtill continue to do it ſo much honour. Their names and abilities are known to all Europe, which does their merit all the juſtice it deſerves.

The reader no doubt has obſerved, from all that has been ſaid of aſtronomy, the eſſential relation of that ſcience to Geography and Navigation: and this is the proper place to ſpeak of them. M. Danville, Geographer Royal, with whom I am particularly intimate, has been pleaſed to impart memoirs of geography to me, of which I have made great uſe.

# ARTICLE I.

# OF GEOGRAPHY.

## SECT. I.

*Of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Geographers of antiquity.*

CONQUESTS and commerce have aggrandiſed geography, and ſtill contribute to its perfection. Homer, in his poems upon the Trojan war, and the voyages of Ulyſſes, has mentioned a great number of nations and countries, with particular circumſtances relating to abundance of places. There appears ſo much knowledge of this kind in that great Poet, that Strabo conſidered him in ſome ſort as the firſt and moſt antient of Geographers.

Strab. l. 1. p. 2.

It is certain that geography has been cultivated from the earlieſt [illegible], and, beſides the geographical authors come down to us, we find many others cited by them, whoſe works time has not ſpared. The art of repreſenting the earth, or ſome particular region of it, upon geographical tables and maps, is even very antient. Anaximander, the diſciple of Thales, who lived above five hundred years before Chriſt, had compoſed works of this kind, as we have obſerved above.

Laert. l. 2.

Alexander's expedition, who extended his conqueſts as far as the frontiers of Scythia, and into India, opened to the Greeks a poſitive knowledge of many countries very remote from their own. That conqueror had two engineers, Diognetus and Bæton, in his ſervice, who were ordered to meaſure his marches. Pliny and Strabo have preſerved thoſe meaſures; and Arrian has tranſmitted down to us the particulars of the navigation of Nearchus and Oneſicritus, who ſailed back with Alexander's

Plin. l. 6. c. 17. Strab. l. 11. p. 514. Arrian lib. 1er. Indic.

ander's fleet from the mouths of the Indus into thoſe of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The Greeks, having reduced Tyre and Sidon, had it in their power to inform themſelves particularly of all the places to which the Phœnicians traded by ſea, and their commerce extended as far as the Atlantic ocean.

Alexander's ſucceſſors in the Eaſt extended their dominions and knowledge ſtill farther than him, and even to the mouths of the Ganges.

Ptolomy Evergetes carried his into Abyſſinia, as the inſcription of the throne of Adulis, according to Coſmas the hermit, proves. Thevenot's *Travels, Vol. I.*

About the ſame time Eratoſthenes, the Librarian of Alexandria, endeavoured to meaſure the earth, by comparing the diſtance between Alexandria and Syene, a town ſituated under the tropic of Cancer, with the difference of Latitude of thoſe places, which he concluded from the Meridian ſhadow of a gnomon erected at Alexandria at the ſummer-ſolſtice.

The Romans having made themſelves maſters of the world, and united the Eaſt and Weſt under the ſame power, it is not to be doubted, but geography muſt have derived great advantages from it. It is eaſy to perceive, that moſt of the completeſt geographical works were compiled during the Roman emperors. The great roads of the empire, meaſured in all their extent, might have contributed much to the improvement of geography: and the Roman Itineraries, though often altered and incorrect, are ſtill of great ſervice in compoſing ſome maps, and in the inquiries neceſſary to the knowledge of the antient geography. *Antoninus's Itinerary*, as it is commonly called, becauſe ſuppoſed to have been compiled in his reign, is alſo aſcribed by the Learned to the coſmographer Æthicus. We have alſo a kind of *Table* or oblong *Map*, which is called the *Theodoſian* Table,

from its being conjectured to have been compoſed about the time of Theodoſius. The name of *Peutinger* is alſo given this table, which is that of a conſiderable citizen of Auſburg in Germany, in whoſe library it was found, and from whence it was ſent to the famous Ortelius, the greateſt geographer of his time.

Though geography be but a very ſhort part of Pliny's natural hiſtory, he however often gives us a detail of conſiderable extent. He uſually follows the plan laid down for him by Pomponius Mela, a leſs circumſtantial, but elegant, author.

Strabo and Ptolomy held the firſt rank amongſt the antient geographers, and diſpute it with each other. Geography has more extent, and takes in a greater part of the Earth in Ptolomy; whilſt it ſeems equally circumſtantial every-where: but it is that extent itſelf that renders it the more ſuſpected, it not being eaſy for it to be every-where exact and correct. Strabo relates a great part of what he writes upon the evidence of his own eyes, having made abundance of voyages for the greater certainty of his accounts; and is very ſuccinct upon what he knows only from the reports of others. His geography is adorned with an infinity of hiſtorical facts and diſcuſſions. He affects everywhere to remark, in reſpect to each place and country, the great men they have produced, and that do them honour. Strabo is a philoſopher as well as a geographer; and good ſenſe, ſolidity of judgment, and accuracy, diſplay themſelves throughout his whole work.

Ptolomy having diſpoſed his geography in general by longitudes and latitudes, the only method of attaining any certainty in it, Agathodamon, his countryman, and of Alexandria as well as himſelf, reduced the whole into geographical charts or maps.

The

The authors, of whom I have now ſpoken, are in a manner the principal ſources from which the knowledge of the antient geography is to be acquired. And, if the particular deſcription of the principal countries of Greece by Pauſanias be added to it, with ſome leſs works, that principally conſiſt of brief deſcriptions of ſea-coaſts, amongſt others thoſe of the Euxine and Erythrean ſeas by Arrian, and the account of cities compiled from the Greek authors by Stephanus Byzantinus, we have almoſt all that remains of the geographical works of antiquity.

It is not to be imagined, that the antients whom I have cited had no thoughts of uſing the helps aſtronomy was capable of affording geography. They obſerved the difference of the latitudes of places by the length of Meridian ſhadows at the ſummer-ſolſtice. They determined alſo that difference from the obſervation of the length of the longeſt days in each place. It was well known by the antients, that, by comparing the time of the obſervation of an eclipſe of the moon in places ſituated under different meridians, the difference of the longitudes of thoſe places might be known.

But, if the antients underſtood the theory of theſe different obſervations, it muſt be allowed that the means they employed in it were not capable of leading them to a certain degree of exactneſs, to which the moderns only attained by the help of great teleſcopes and the perfection of clocks. We cannot help perceiving the want of exactneſs in the obſervations of the antients, when we conſider, that Ptolomy, all-great Coſmographer as he was, and though an Alexandrian, was miſtaken about the fifth of a degree in the latitude of the city of Alexandria; which was obſerved in the laſt century by the order of the king of France, and the application of the Royal Academy of ſciences.

But though there is reaſon to conclude, that the art of making geographical maps was very far from being carried amongſt the antients to that degree of perfection as it is in our days; and we may believe, that, even in the time of the Romans, the uſe of thoſe maps was not ſo common as it is at preſent; an antient monument of our Gaul itſelf informs us, that young perſons were taught geography by the inſpection of maps. That monument is an oratorical diſcourſe ſpoken at Autun in the reign of Conſtantius, wherein the rhetorician Eumenes expreſsly tells us, that in the porch of the public ſchool of that city young ſtudents had recourſe to a repreſentation of the diſpoſition of all the lands and ſeas of the earth, in which the courſes of the rivers and the windings of coaſts were particularly deſcribed: *Videat in illis porticibus Juventus & quotidie ſpectet omnes terras, & cuncta maria, & quicquid invictiſſimi Principes, urbium, gentium, nationum aut pietate reſtituunt, aut virtute devincunt aut terrore. Si quidem illic, ut ipſe vidiſti, credo inſtruendæ pueritiæ cauſa, quo manifeſtiùs oculis diſcerentur quæ difficiliùs percipiuntur auditu, omnium, cum nominibus ſuis, locorum ſitus, ſpatia, intervalla deſcripta ſunt, quicquid ubique fluminum oritur & conditur, quacumque ſe littorum ſinus flectunt, quo vel ambitu cingit Orbem, vel impetu irrumpit Oceanus.*

Inter. Vet. Panegyr.

## SECT. II.

### *Lands known to the Antients.*

TO know what part of the ſurface of the earth was known to the antients is of ſome uſe.

On the ſide of the Weſt which we inhabit, the Atlantic Ocean and the Britiſh iſles limited the knowledge of the antients.

The Fortunate iſlands, now called the Canaries, ſeemed to them as the remoteſt part of the ocean between the ſouth and the weſt; and it was for

that

that reaſon Ptolomy reckoned the longitude of the Meridian from thoſe iſlands; in which he has been followed by many Eaſtern and Mahometan geographers, and even by the French and moſt of the Moderns.

The Greeks had ſome ſlight knowledge of Hibernia, the moſt weſtern of the Britiſh iſlands, even before the Romans had conquered Great Britain. Ariſt. de Mundo. c. 3.

The antients had but very imperfect notions of the northern countries as far as the Hyperborean or Icy ſea. Though Scandinavia was known, that country and ſome others of the ſame continent, were taken for great iſlands.

It is hard to determine poſitively what place the antients underſtood by *ultima Thule*. Many take it for Iceland. But Procopius ſeems to make it a part of the continent of Scandinavia. Virg. 1. Georg. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 15.

It is certain that the knowledge, which the antients had of Sarmatia and Scythia, was very far from extending to the ſea, which now ſeems to bound Ruſſia and Great Tartary on the north and eaſt ſides. The diſcoveries of the antients went no farther than the Riphæan mountains, the chain of which actually divides Ruſſia in Europe from Siberia.

It is evident that the antients had no great knowledge of the northern part of Aſia, when we conſider that moſt of their authors, as Strabo, Mela, Pliny, imagined that the Caſpian ſea was a gulf of the Hyperborean ocean, from whence it iſſued by a long canal. Strab. l. 2. p. 121. Mel. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

On the ſide of the Eaſt, the antients ſeem to have known only the weſtern frontier of China. Ptolomy ſeems to have had a glimpſe of ſome part of the ſouthern coaſt of China, but a very imperfect one.

The great iſlands of Aſia, eſpecially thoſe of Japan, were unknown to the antients. Only the

famous Taprobana is to be excepted, the diſcovery of which was a conſequence of Alexander's expedition into India, as Pliny informs us.

Plin. l. c. 22. It remains for me to ſpeak of the ſouthernmoſt part of Africa. Tho' many have ſuppoſed that in a voyage of extraordinary length they had ſailed round this part of the world, Ptolomy however ſeems to inſinuate, that it had eſcaped the knowledge of the antients. Every body knows that it lies almoſt entirely within the Torrid Zone, which moſt of the antients believed uninhabitable near the Equinoctial line; for which reaſon Strabo goes very little farther than Meroe in Ethiopia.

Arriani & Marciani Heracl. Peripl. Ptolomy however, and ſome others, have carried their knowledge along the eaſtern coaſt of Africa as far as the Equator, and even to the iſland of Madagaſcar, which he ſeems to intend by the name of *Menuthias*.

It was reſerved for the voyages undertaken by the Portugueſe in the fifteenth century, in order to go to India by ſea, to diſcover the greateſt part of the coaſts of Africa upon the Atlantic ocean, and eſpecially the paſſage by the ſouth of the moſt extreme cape of Africa. That paſſage having been diſcovered, ſeveral European nations, led by the hopes of rich traffic, ran over the Indian ſea that waſhes the coaſts of Aſia, diſcovered all the iſlands in it, and penetrated as far as Japan.

The conqueſts and ſettlement of the Ruſſians in the northern part of Aſia have completed our knowledge of that part of the world.

To conclude, every body knows, that, about the end of the fifteenth century, a new world, ſituated on the weſt in reſpect to ours, beyond the Atlantic ocean, was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, under the auſpices of the crown of Caſtile.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

*Wherein the modern geographers have excelled the antient.*

IT would be blindneſs, and ſhutting one's eyes againſt demonſtration, not to admit that the modern geography abundantly ſurpaſſes the antient. It is well known that the meaſures of the earth muſt be ſought in the heavens, and that geography depends upon aſtronomical obſervations. Now who can doubt, that aſtronomy has not made an extraordinary progreſs in later times? The invention of teleſcopes only, which is of ſufficiently recent date, has infinitely contributed to it; and that invention itſelf has been highly improved in no great number of years. It is therefore no wonder that the antients, with all the genius and penetration we are willing to allow them, were not able to attain to the ſame degree of knowledge, as they were not aſſiſted in their inquiries by the ſame aids.

Geography is ſtill far from having received its final perfection. Practical ſciences make the leaſt progreſs. Two or three great geniuſſes ſuffice for carrying Theories a great way in a ſhort time; but Practice goes on with a ſlower pace, becauſe it depends upon a greater number of hands, of which even far the greateſt part are but meanly ſkilful. Geography, which would require an infinite number of exact operations, is imperfect in proportion both to that number, and the accuracy they would require; and we may juſtly ſuppoſe that the deſcription of the terreſtrial globe, though it begins to be rectified a little, is ſtill very confuſed, and far from a true likeneſs.

It would be of ſmall conſequence to mention the faults of the antient and Ptolemaic maps, in which the Mediterranean is made to extend a good fourth more in longitude than it really does. The queſtion here

here is the modern maps, which, though generally the better the more modern they are, have ſtill occaſion for abundance of corrections.

Monſieur Sanſon has always been conſidered as a very good geographer, and his Maps have always been highly eſteemed. Monſieur Deliſle has however differed from them very often in his. And this is not to be imagined, as it is uſually called, jealouſy of profeſſion. Since Monſieur Sanſon's time, the earth is exceedingly changed; that is to ſay, more accurate, and a greater number of aſtronomical obſervations have greatly reformed geography. The ſame, no doubt, will happen to the maps of Monſieur Deliſle; and we ought to wiſh ſo for the good of the public.

The only method for making good geographical maps would be to have the poſition of every place from aſtronomical obſervations. But we are exceedingly far from having all theſe poſitions in this manner, and can hardly ever hope to have them. To ſupply this want, the itinerary diſtances of one place from another are uſed, as found ſet down in authors; and it is a great happineſs to find them there with any exactneſs, and without manifeſt contradictions, or conſiderable difficulties.

Hence, when our moſt ſkilful geographers were to make a map of the Roman countries, and particularly of Italy, as they had very few aſtronomical obſervations, they made the itinerary diſtances of places, as they found them in the books of the antients, their rule for their poſition.

The poſitions of many places have been ſince taken by aſtronomical obſervations. Monſieur Deliſle made uſe of them for correcting the maps of Italy, and the neighbouring countries; and he found that they not only became very different from what they were before, but that the places agreed exactly enough in reſpect to the diſtances given

given them by the antients: ſo that it is to be preſumed, that, in following them literally, good geographical maps might be made of the countries well known to them.

There is reaſon to be ſurpriſed at this great conformity of poſitions found by aſtronomical obſervations with thoſe taken from the itinerary diſtances as ſet down by the antients: for it is certain, that the ſituation of places taken from our itinerary diſtances are often falſe, and much ſo too.

But Monſieur Deliſle obſerves, that the Romans had advantages in this reſpect, which we have not. Their taſte for the public utility, and even magnificence (for they embelliſhed all they conquered) had occaſioned their making great roads throughout all Italy, of which Rome was the center, and which went to all the principal cities as far as the two ſeas. They made the like ways in many provinces of the Empire, of which remains, admirable for their conſtruction and ſolidity, ſubſiſt to this day. Theſe ways ran in a right line without quitting it either on account of mountains or marſhes. The marſhes were drained, and the mountains cut through. Stones were placed from mile to mile, with their numbers upon them. This rectilinear extent, and theſe diviſions into parts ſufficiently ſmall in reſpect to the whole length, rendered the itinerary meaſures very exact.

This exactneſs of the meaſures of the antients was well proved by an experiment made by Monſieur Caſſini. The meaſure of the diſtance from Narbonne to Niſmes had been included in the work of the meridian. That diſtance was ſixty-ſeven thouſand five hundred *toiſes* or fathoms of Paris. Strabo had alſo given us the diſtance of theſe two cities, which he makes eighty-eight miles. From whence it is eaſy to conclude, that an antient mile was ſeven hundred ſixty-ſeven toiſes of Paris. Beſides

ſides which, as the mile is known to have been five thouſand feet, we alſo find that the antient foot was eleven inches and $\frac{1}{15}$ of the Paris foot. The meaſure in conſequence muſt be equal to the antient diſtance, and has preſerved itſelf without change during ſo long a ſpace of time.

Monſieur Deliſle has given us a map, wherein Italy and Greece are repreſented in two different manners: the one according to the beſt modern geographers, the other according to aſtronomical obſervations for the places where they were to be had, and, for the reſt, according to the meaſures of antient authors. The difference between theſe two repreſentations would perhaps ſeem incredible. In the latter, Lombardy is very much ſhortened from South to North, Great Greece lengthened, the ſea that divides Greece and Italy made narrower, as well as that between Italy and Africa and Greece much leſſened.

Theſe laſt remarks, which are all taken from the Memoirs of the academy of ſciences, lengthen this brief head a little; but I conceived them worthy of the reader's curioſity.

## ARTICLE II.

## OF NAVIGATION.

I SHALL examine only one point in this place, which is the wonderful change that an experiment, which might appear of ſmall importance, has occaſioned in navigation, and the ſuperiority we have acquired in this reſpect over the antients, by a means that ſeemed trivial in itſelf: it is eaſy to perceive that I mean the Compaſs. This inſtrument is a box that has a needle in it, touched with a loadſtone, that turns always towards the pole, except in ſome places where it has a declination.

The

The antients, we know, who ſteered their ſhips by the ſun in the day, and the ſtars during the night, in miſty weather could not diſcern what courſe to hold; and, for that reaſon, not daring to put out to ſea, were obliged to keep cloſe to the ſhore, and could not undertake voyages of any conſiderable length,

They knew one of the virtues of the loadſtone, which is to attract iron. One would think that the ſlighteſt attention might have occaſioned their diſcovering its other property of directing itſelf towards the pole of the world, and in conſequence have led them on to the compaſs. But he who diſpoſes all things kept their eyes ſhut to an effect which ſeemed of itſelf obvious to them.

Neither the author of this invention, nor the time when the uſe of it was firſt thought of, are preciſely known. It is however certain, that the French uſed the loadſtone in navigation long before any other nation of Europe, as may be eaſily proved from the works of ſome of our antient French authors, who ſpoke of it firſt above four hundred years ago. It is true, the invention was then very imperfect: for they ſay, that the needle was only put into a bowl, or veſſel, full of water, where it could turn itſelf towards the North, ſupported upon a pin. The Chineſe, if we may believe certain modern relations, make uſe, to this day, of the ſame kind of compaſs.

Caſſini's Aſtron. Memoirs.

Guyot de Provines.

The navigators, perceiving the importance of this invention, made many Aſtronomical Obſervations, towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, to aſſure themſelves of it, and found, that a needle, touched with a loadſtone, and ſet *in æquilibrio* upon a pivot, did actually turn of itſelf towards the pole, and that the direction of ſuch a needle might be employed for knowing the regions of

of the world, and the * point of the wind in which it is proper to ſail.

By other obſervations it has ſince been diſcovered, that the needle does not always point to the true North, but that it has a ſmall declination ſometimes towards the Eaſt, and ſometimes towards the Weſt; and even that this declination changes at different times and places. But they found alſo the means of knowing this variation ſo exactly by the ſun and ſtars, that the compaſs may be uſed with certainty for finding the regions of the heavens, even when clouded, provided that it has been rectified a little before by the obſervation of the ſtars.

The curioſity of the Learned of Europe began at that time to awake. They ſoon invented various inſtruments, made tables and calculations for facilitating the obſervation of the ſtars.

Never had navigation ſo many advantages for ſucceeding. The pilots did not fail to make the beſt of them. With theſe helps they croſſed unknown ſeas; and the ſucceſs of their firſt voyages encouraged them to attempt new diſcoveries. All the nations of Europe applied themſelves to them in emulation of each other. The French were the firſt in ſignaliſing their courage and addreſs: they feized the Canaries, and diſcovered great part of Guinea. The Portugueſe took the iſland of Madeira and that of Cape-Verd; and the Flemings diſcovered the iſlands of the Azores.

Hiſt de la Conquete des Canaries par Bethencourt.

Theſe diſcoveries were only preludes to that of the New World. Chriſtopher Columbus, founding his deſign upon his knowledge of aſtronomy, and, as it is ſaid, upon the memoirs of a Biſcayan pilot, whom a ſtorm had thrown upon an iſland of the Atlantic ocean, undertook to croſs that ſea. He propoſed it to ſeveral of the princes of Europe, of whom ſome neglected it, becauſe engaged in affairs of a more urgent nature; and

* *Of which points there are two and thirty upon the compaſs.*

others

others rejected it, becauſe they neither comprehended the importance of that expedition, nor the reaſons that Columbus gave to explain the poſſibility of it. Thus the glory of the diſcovery of the new world was left to the kings of Caſtile, who afterwards acquired immenſe riches from it.

Columbus well knew, from his knowledge of the ſphere and geography, that, ſailing continually towards the Weſt under the ſame parallel or very near it, he could not fail of finding lands at length, becauſe, if he found no new ones, the earth being round, he muſt neceſſarily arrive by the ſhorteſt courſe at the extremity of the Eaſt-Indies.

In his voyages from Liſbon to Guinea, ſailing from North to South, he had been confirmed by experience that a degree of the earth's circumference contains fifty-ſix miles and two thirds, according to the meaſure eſtabliſhed by the aſtronomers of Almamon; and he had learnt in the books of Ptolomy, that, keeping always to the Weſt from the Canaries to the firſt lands of Aſia, there are only an hundred and eighty degrees. Accordingly he ſet out from the Canaries, ſteering always to the Weſt under the ſame parallel. As he did not entirely rely upon the compaſs, he always took care to obſerve the ſun by day, and the fixed ſtars by night. This precaution prevented him from miſtaking his courſe: For thoſe who have written his life ſay, that his Obſervations of the Heavens made him perceive a variation in his compaſs, which he did not know before; and that he rectified his way by them. *Ferdinand Columbus in his life of Columbus.* Chap. 4. Chap. 17.

After ſailing two months, he arrived at the Lucay iſlands, and from thence went on to Hiſpaniola, Cuba, and Saint Domingo, from whence he brought back great riches into Spain. Aſtronomy, by which he had diſcovered theſe rich countries, aſſiſted him alſo in eſtabliſhing himſelf there: For, in his ſecond voyage, his fleet being reduced Chap. 22.

to

to extremities by the want of proviſions, and the inhabitants of Jamaica refuſing to ſupply him with them, he had the addreſs to threaten them he would darken the moon at a time when he knew there would be an eclipſe; and, as that eclipſe really happened the day he had foretold, the terrified Barbarians granted him whatever he pleaſed.

Whilſt Columbus was diſcovering the ſouthern part of the new world, the French diſcovered the northern part of it, and gave it the name of New France.

Veſput. navig. prim. Americus Veſputius continued the diſcoveries of Columbus, and had the advantage of giving his name to the whole new world, which has ever ſince been called America. Aſtronomy was of great uſe to him in his voyages.

On the other ſide, the pilots of the king of Portugal, who till then had only traverſed the coaſts of Africa, doubled at this time the Cape of Good-hope, and opened themſelves a paſſage into the Eaſt-Indies, where they made very great conqueſts.

Is there in all hiſtory an event comparable to that I have now related, that is to ſay, to the diſcovery of the new world? Upon what did it depend for ſo many ages? Upon the knowledge of a property of the load-ſtone, eaſily diſcoverable, which had, however, eſcaped the inquiries of an infinite number of the Learned, whoſe ſagacity had penetrated into the moſt obſcure and moſt profound myſteries of nature. Is it poſſible not to diſcern here the finger of God?

Columbus had never thought of forming his enterpriſe, and indeed could never have ſucceeded in it, without a great knowledge of aſtronomy: for Providence delights in concealing its wonders under the veil of human operations. How important therefore is it in a well-governed ſtate to place the ſuperior ſciences in honour and reputation, which are capable of rendering mankind ſuch great ſervices,

ſervices, and which have actually hitherto procured them, and ſtill continue to procure them, ſuch conſiderable advantages?

The reader will permit me to ſay a few words in this place upon two voyages of the Learned, which do the king and Literature in general great honour.

*Voyages to Peru and into the North, undertaken by the order of Lewis* XV.

In 1672, Mr. Richer obſerved in the iſland of Cayenne, that the curvation of the ſuperficies of the earth was greater there than in the Temperate Zone. Hence it was concluded that the figure of the earth muſt be that of a ſpheroid flat towards the poles, and not elliptical, or oblong, as it was and ſtill is believed by very ſkilful aſtronomers: for the point is not yet determined.

NEWTON and HUYGENS came afterwards by their theory to the ſame concluſion. It was to be aſſured of this truth, that in the year 1735, that is to ſay, at a time when France had a war to ſupport, which has ſince terminated ſo gloriouſly for her, the king, always intent upon making the ſciences flouriſh in his dominions, ſent aſtronomers to Peru and into the North, in order to determine with certainty by accurate obſervations the figure of the terreſtrial globe. Nothing was ſpared, either in reſpect to the expences of the voyage, or to procure them all the conveniencies that might promote their ſucceſs.

We ſaw them, in conſequence, ſet out, part of them to expoſe themſelves to the burning heats of the Torrid Zone, and the reſt to fly with the ſame ardour to confront all the horrors of the frozen North. The firſt have not been heard of a great while; but great diſcoveries are expected from their inquiries. The others have been come back from the North ſome months. The particulars of

what they ſuffered, in order to give their operations all the perfection of which they were capable, is ſcarce credible. They were obliged to traverſe immenſe foreſts, in which they were the firſt that ever opened themſelves away; to ſcale mountains of amazing height, and covered with wood, which it was neceſſary for them to cut down; to paſs torrents of an impetuoſity capable of aſtoniſhing ſuch as only beheld them, and that too in wretched boats, that had no other pilot but a Laplander, nor maſt or ſails but a tree with its branches. Add to this the exceſſive cold of thoſe regions remote from the ſun, of which they experienced all the rigours; and the groſs nouriſhment on which they were reduced to ſubſiſt during a very conſiderable length of time. It is eaſy to conceive the courage theſe indefatigable obſervers muſt have had to ſurmount ſo many difficulties, that ſeemed to render the execution of the project confided to them impoſſible. The late Reading of the account of this voyage in the Academy of Sciences, ſince their return, has made the Public very deſirous to ſee it * printed.

One is ſometimes tempted to treat as uſeleſs ſuch laborious and ſcrupulous obſervations, that have no end but to determine the Figure of the Earth; and there are many who will perhaps believe, that thoſe who made them might have ſpared themſelves the trouble, and made a better uſe of the money employed in them. But this proceeds from the ignorance of the relation of Obſervations of this nature to navigation, and the advantages reſulting from them to aſtronomy. This event will not a little conduce to exalt the glory of the reign of Lewis XV.

* *It has been publiſhed, and there is a tranſlation of it printed.*

ART I.

## ARTICLE III.

*Reflections upon aſtronomy.*

I Cannot conclude the Article of Aſtronomy without making two Reflections with the authors of the learned Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences.

## FIRST REFLECTION,

*upon the Satellites of Jupiter.*

We are naturally enough inclined, as I have already obſerved in ſpeaking of geometry, to conſider as uſeleſs, and to deſpiſe, what we do not underſtand. We have one moon to light us by night; and what ſignifies it to us, ſome object, that Jupiter has four? (The moons or ſatellites of Jupiter are the ſame thing:) And wherefore ſo many laborious Obſervations, and fatiguing calculations, for knowing their revolutions? We ſhall be never the wiſer for that, and nature, which has placed thoſe little Stars out of the reach of our eyes, does not ſeem to have made them for us.

In virtue of ſo plauſible a way of reaſoning, we ought to neglect obſerving them with the teleſcope, and ſtudying them with particular attention: And what a loſs would not that be to the public!

The method of determining the Longitudes of the places of the earth by the means of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites, which the academy royal firſt began to put in practice, was found ſo exact, that it was judged that the correction of geography in general, and the making of true Maps and Charts for the uſes of navigation, might be undertaken by this means. This could not be done before, becauſe the eclipſes of the moon had been the only means uſed for finding, but with little exact-

neſs, the difference of the longitudes of ſome remote places. And theſe eclipſes that uſually happen only once or twice a year, are much leſs frequent than thoſe of the ſatellites of Jupiter, which happen at fartheſt every two days, though all of them cannot be obſerved in the ſame place, as well through the difference of the hours in which Jupiter is above the horizon, as upon account of the weather, which often prevents obſervations.

This undertaking to work, for the improvement of geography, in a new and more perfect manner than had ever been imagined before, being agreeable to his Majeſty's intentions in the Inſtitution of his Academy of Sciences, it was his pleaſure, that perſons ſhould be choſen, capable of executing the inſtructions to be given them in different places, and that proper occaſions ſhould be taken for ſending them into remote countries. The hiſtory of theſe voyages is exactly related in the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, and is, in my opinion, one of the circumſtances of the reign of Lewis XIV. which will do him moſt honour in ages to come.

When his majeſty was informed of the obſervations that the members of the academy of ſciences had taken by his order in different places out of the kingdom, he commanded them to apply themſelves in making a map of France with the utmoſt exactneſs poſſible. This had been often attempted, but without ſucceſs, for want of the means we have at this time, which are pendulum-clocks, and the great teleſcopes now uſed for diſcovering the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites, which is the moſt certain method for determining the difference of meridians.

Had aſtronomy in all its extent no other advantage to mankind, than what is derived from the Satellites of Jupiter, it would ſufficiently juſtify thoſe immenſe calculations, thoſe aſſiduous and ſcru-

ſcrupulous obſervations, that great number of inſtruments wrought with ſo much pains, and the ſuperb building ſolely erected for the uſe of this ſcience. The leaſt knowledge of the principles of geography and navigation ſhews, that, ſince Jupiter's four moons have been known, they have been of more uſe in reſpect to thoſe ſciences, than our moon itſelf; that they now ſerve, and always will, for making Sea Charts exceedingly more correct than thoſe of the antients, which in all probability will ſave the lives of an infinite number of mariners.

## SECOND REFLECTION,

*Upon the amazing ſcene which aſtronomy opens to our view.*

Though Aſtronomy were not ſo abſolutely neceſſary as it is to Geography and Navigation, it would be infinitely worthy of the curioſity of all thinking men, from the grand and ſuperb ſcene which it opens to their view. To give ſome idea of it, I ſhall only repeat, in a few words, what the obſervations of aſtronomers have taught us of the immenſe bulk of ſome of thoſe great orbs that move over our heads.

The ſtars are divided into planets and fixed ſtars.

The planets (a Greek word that ſignifies *errant*, or *wandering*) are ſo called, becauſe they are not always at an equal diſtance either from each other, or in reſpect to the fixed ſtars; whereas the latter are always at the ſame diſtance from each other. The planets have no light of their own, and are only viſible by the reflection of that of the ſun. The aſtronomers have obſerved, that they have a particular motion of their own, beſides that which they have in common with the reſt of the heavens. They have computed this motion, and, from the time which each planet employs in one revolu-

tion, have with reaſon eſtabliſhed its elevation and diſtance.

The MOON, of all the planets, is the neareſt to the earth, and almoſt ſixty times leſs.

The SUN is not a body of the ſame ſpecies as the earth, and the reſt of the planets, nor ſolid like them. It is a vaſt ocean of light, that boils up perpetually, and diffuſes itſelf with inceſſant profuſion. It is the ſource of all that light which the planets only reflect to each other after having received it from him.

The EARTH is a million of times leſs than the globe of the ſun, and thirty-three millions of leagues diſtant from it. During ſo many ages the ſun has ſuffered no diminution. Its diameter is equal at this day to the moſt antient obſervations of it, and its light as vigorous and as abundant as ever.

JUPITER is five times as far from the ſun as us, that is to ſay, an hundred and ſixty-five millions of leagues. He turns round upon his own axis every ten hours.

SATURN is thirty years in his revolution round the ſun. He is twice as far from it as Jupiter, and conſequently ten times more diſtant than us, that is to ſay, three hundred and thirty millions of leagues.

The FIXED STARS are, with reſpect to the earth, at a diſtance not to be conceived by human wit. According to the obſervations of Mr. Huygens, the diſtance of the earth from the neareſt Fixed Star is, with reſpect to that of the ſun, as one to twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four. Now we have ſaid, that the diſtance of the earth from the ſun is thirty-three millions of leagues. The leaſt diſtance therefore of the earth from the fixed ſtars is nine hundred and two * billions, nine hundred and twelve millions of leagues, that is to

* *A billion is ten hundred thouſand millions.*

ſay, twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four times the diſtance from hence to the ſun, which, as we have ſaid, is thirty-three millions of leagues.

The ſame Mr. Huygens ſuppoſes, and infallible experiments have proved him right, that a cannon-bullet flies about an hundred toiſes (above two hundred yards) in a ſecond. Suppoſing it to move always with the ſame velocity, and meaſuring the ſpace it flies according to that calculation, he demonſtrates that a cannon-bullet would be almoſt five and twenty years in arriving at the ſun; and twenty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four times twenty-five years in reaching the fixed ſtar neareſt the earth. What then muſt we think of the fixed ſtars infinitely more remote from us?

Thoſe ſtars are innumerable. The antient aſtronomers counted a thouſand and twenty-two of them. Since the uſe of aſtronomical glaſſes, millions that eſcape the eye appear.

They all ſhine by their own light, and are all, like the ſun, inexhauſtible ſources of light. And indeed, if they received it from the ſun, it muſt neceſſarily be very feebly, after a paſſage of ſo enormous a length: they muſt alſo tranſmit it to us, at the ſame diſtance, by a reflection, that would make it ſtill much weaker. Now it would be impoſſible, that a light which had undergone a reflection, and ran twice the ſpace of 902,912000000 leagues, ſhould have the force and livelineſs that the light of the fixed ſtars has. It is therefore certain, that they are luminous of themſelves, and, in a word, all of them ſo many ſuns.

But the queſtion here is only the magnitude and remoteneſs of thoſe vaſt bodies. When we conſider them together, is it poſſible to ſupport the view, or rather the idea of them? The globe of the ſun a million of times greater than the earth, and di-

ſtant thirty-three millions of leagues! Saturn almoſt four thouſand times as big, and ten times farther from the ſun than us! No compariſon between the planets and the fixed ſtars! The whole immenſe ſpace which contains our ſun and planets is but a little parcel of the univerſe. As many of the like ſpaces as of fixed ſtars! What then muſt the immenſity of the whole firmament be, that contains all theſe different bodies within its extent? Can we ſo much as think of it, can we fix our view upon it for ſome moments, without being confounded, amazed, and terrified? It is an abyſs, in which we loſe ourſelves. What then muſt be the greatneſs, power, and immenſity of him, who, with a ſingle word, both formed theſe enormous maſſes, and the ſpaces that contain them! And theſe incomprehenſible wonders to human wit the holy Scripture, in a ſtyle that belongs only to God, expreſſes in one word, *and the ſtars.* After having related the creation of the ſun and moon, it adds, *he made the ſtars alſo.* Is there any thing requiſite, to render the incredulity and ingratitude of mankind inexcuſable, beſides this book of the firmament written in the characters of light? And has not the prophet reaſon to cry out, full of religious admiration: *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament ſheweth his handy-work.*

CON-

# CONCLUSION

## *of the whole Work.*

AFTER having made almoſt all the ſtates and kingdoms of the univerſe in a manner paſs in review before our eyes, and having conſidered circumſtantially the moſt important events that paſſed in them during the courſe of ſo many ages, it ſeems natural enough to go back a moment, before we quit this great ſcene, and to collect its principal parts into one point of view, in order to our being able to form the better judgment of it. On the one ſide we ſee princes, warriors, and conquerors; on the other magiſtrates, politicians and legiſlators; and in the midſt of both the Learned of all kinds, who, by the utility, beauty, or ſublimity of their knowledge, have acquired immortal reputation. Theſe three claſſes include, in my opinion, all that is moſt ſhining, and moſt attractive of eſteem and admiration in human greatneſs. I conſider the univerſe here only in its faireſt light, and for a moment take off my view from all the vices and diſorders that diſturb its beauty and œconomy.

Before me ſtand Princes and Kings, full of wiſdom and prudence in their counſels, of equity and juſtice in the government of their people, of valour and intrepidity in battle, of moderation and clemency in victory, ſubjecting many kingdoms, founding vaſt empires, and acquiring the love of the conquered nations no leſs than of their own ſubjects: ſuch was Cyrus. At the ſame time I ſee a multitude of Greeks and Romans, equally illuſtrious in war and peace; Generals of the moſt exalted bravery and military knowledge,

cians of exceeding ability in the arts of government; famous Legiſlators, whoſe laws and inſtitutions ſtill amaze us, whilſt they ſeem almoſt incredible, ſo much they appear above humanity; Magiſtrates infinitely venerable for their love of the public good; Judges of great wiſdom, incorruptible, and proof againſt all that can tempt avidity; and laſtly, Citizens, entirely devoted to their country, whoſe generous and noble diſintereſtedneſs riſes ſo high as the contempt of riches, and the eſteem and love of poverty. If I turn my eyes towards the Arts and Sciences, what luſtre do not the multitude of admirable Works come down to us diſplay, in which ſhine forth, according to the difference of ſubjects, art and diſpoſition, greatneſs of genius, riches of invention, beauty of Style, ſolidity of judgment, and profound erudition.

This is the great, the ſplendid Scene, that hiſtory, the faithful regiſter of paſt events, has hitherto preſented to our view, and upon which it now remains for us to paſs our judgment. Is it poſſible to refuſe our eſteem to ſuch rare and excellent qualities, ſuch ſhining actions, and noble ſentiments? Let us call to mind the maxims of morality in the writings of the philoſophers, ſo refined, ſo conformable to right reaſon, and even ſo ſublime, as to be capable ſometimes of making Chriſtians bluſh. Do not men of ſuch profound knowledge and underſtanding deſerve the name of Sages?

The juſt Judge of all things, by whoſe judgment it is our duty to direct our own, abſolutely denies it them, as Mr. du Guet obſerves ſo juſtly in ſeveral of his works, and as I have ſaid elſewhere.

Pſal. xiv. 2. *The Lord*, ſays the royal prophet, *looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to ſee if there were any that did underſtand and ſeek God.* The earth is full of perſons that excel in arts and ſciences. There are many Philoſophers, Orators, and Politicians.

There

There are even many Legiſlators, Interpreters of Laws, and Miniſters of Juſtice, Many are conſulted as perſons of extraordinary wiſdom, and their anſwers are conſidered as deciſions, from which it is not allowable to depart. However, amongſt ſo many wiſe and intelligent perſons in the ſight of men, God diſcerns none that are not fooliſh and mad. *They are all gone aſide, they are altogether become filthy: there is none that doth good, no not one.* The cenſure is general and without exception.

What then is wanting in theſe pretended wiſemen? The fear of God, without which there is no true wiſdom, *to ſee if there was any that did underſtand and ſeek God:* the knowledge of their own miſery and corruption, and their want of a Mediator, and a Reſtorer or Redeemer. Every thing is in eſteem amongſt them, except Religion and Piety. They know neither the uſe nor end of any thing. They go on without deſign, or knowing whither they ſhould tend. They are ignorant of what they are, and what will become of them. Can folly be more clear and evident?

The thoughts of God are very different from thoſe of men. The Univerſe, peopled with powerful kings, famous legiſlators, celebrated philoſophers, and learned men of all kinds, is the object of our admiration and praiſes; and God ſees nothing but diſorder and corruption in it: *The earth was corrupt before God.* The qualities, knowledge, and maxims of which I ſpeak, were, however, very eſtimable in themſelves. They were the gifts of God, from whom alone comes all good, and all knowledge: but the Pagans perverted their nature by the unworthy uſe they made of them, in conſidering themſelves as their principle and end. I ſpeak here even of thoſe amongſt them that paſſed for the beſt and wiſeſt, whoſe virtues were infected either with pride or ingratitude; or, to ſpeak more properly, with both.

I have

I have obſerved that certain ages, which abounded with illuſtrious examples whether at Athens or Rome, exhibit a grand and noble ſcene in hiſtory: but there was at the ſame time another, which highly diſgraced the glory, and ſullied the beauty of the former; I mean, the Idolatry that generally prevailed throughout the univerſe. The whole earth was covered with thick darkneſs, and lay plunged in groſs and ſtupid ignorance. Only one country, and that of very ſmall extent, knew the true God: *In Judah is God known: his name is great in Iſrael.* Elſewhere all mouths were mute in reſpect to him, and the hymns of idolatrous ſolemnities were only invitations to crimes, which the ſeducer of mankind had made their duty. *God ſuffered all nations to walk each after their own way,* to make themſelves gods of all creatures, to adore all their own paſſions, to abandon themſelves thro' deſpair to thoſe which are moſt ſhameful, to be ignorant of their origin and end, to direct their lives by errors, and fable, and believe every thing indiſcriminately, or nothing at all.

Pſal. lxxvi. 1.

Acts xiv. 16.

One would imagine that man, ſituated in the midſt of the wonders which fill all nature, and largely poſſeſſed of the good things of God, could not forget him, nor remember him without adoration and fidelity. But in the midſt of the greateſt light he behaved like the blind. He became deaf to all the voices that proclaimed the Majeſty and Holineſs of the Creator. He adored every thing, except God. The Stars and Sun, that declared the Divinity, he honoured in his ſtead. Wood and ſtone, under a thouſand forms, which his wild imagination had invented, were become his gods. In a word, falſe religions had deluged the whole earth; and if ſome few were leſs ſtupid than the reſt, they were equally impious and ungrateful. Did not the only one of theſe, who had explained himſelf too clearly, deny in public what he believed

Socrates.

lieved in private? Whence we may obſerve, of what avail the reaſon of all mankind was, when they had no other guide.

We ſee here the principal fruits to be derived from the ſtudy of profane hiſtory, of which every page declares what mankind were during ſo many ages, and what we ourſelves ſhould ſtill be, had not the peculiar mercy, which made known the Saviour of the world to us, drawn us out of the abyſs, in which all our forefathers were ſwallowed up. *It is of the Lord's mercies we are not conſumed.* A mercy freely and entirely conferred, which we have no power to deſerve in any manner of ourſelves, and for which we ought to render eternal homage of gratitude and *praiſe to the grace of* JESUS CHRIST. Eph. i. 6.

GENERAL

# GENERAL INDEX

## Of the MATTERS contained in the HISTORY OF ARTS and SCIENCES.


ABARIS, Greek poet, II. 284

ACADEMY. Three different academies. The Antient, III. 234. the Middle, 246. and the New, 248

*Academies* eſtabliſhed in Europe in the laſt century, III. 409. praiſe of the academy of ſciences, 410

ADRIAN. That emperor's mean jealouſy of Apollodorus the architect, I. 149

*Advocate.* Praiſe of that profeſſion, III. 365. with what diſintereſtedneſs it ought to be exerciſed, 161, *&c.*

ÆLIAN, Greek hiſtorian, III. 74

ÆSCHINES, Greek orator: his character by Quintilian, III. 134

ÆSCHYLUS, tragic poet, II. 289

ÆSCULAPIUS, inventor of medicine, III. 412. his knowledge occaſioned his being ranked in the number of the gods, *ibid.*

ÆSOPUS, comedian, I. 276. his great riches, *ibid.*

AFER *(Domitius)* famous orator, II. 231

AFRANIUS, Latin poet, II. 326.

AGATHODAMON, geographer, III. 4

AGATHIAS, Latin poet, II. 304

AGRIGENTUM, Luxury and effeminacy of its inhabitants, III. 290

ALCAMENES, ſculptor, I. 163

ALCÆUS, Greek poet, II. 295

ALCMAN, Lyric poet, II. 294

*Algebra*, that ſcience is part of the mathematics, III. 449

ALMAMON, Caliph of Babylon, III. 462. his care for the improvement of aſtronomy and geography, *ibid.*

ALPHONSINE tables of aſtronomy, III. 463

AMIOT, old French author. Pleaſure his works give the reader, II. 166

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 116

AMPHION,

AMPHION, muſician, inventor of the lyre, I. 246
ANACREON, Greek poet, II. 296
*Anadyomene*, The moſt famous of Apelles's paintings, I. 222
*Analogy*: what it is, I. 262
*Anatomy*, III. 435
ANAXAGORAS, philoſopher, III. 222. his doctrine, 223. this philoſopher's opinion concerning the nature of the gods, 375
ANAXIMANDER, philoſopher, III. 221. his thoughts concerning the nature of the Divinity, 375. diſcoveries made by this philoſopher in aſtronomy, 456
ANAXIMENES, rhetorician, II. 195. and philoſopher, 221. his opinion of the nature of the Gods, III. 375
ANCUS MARCIUS, ceremony inſtituted by him for declaring war, I. 291
ANDOCIDES, Greek orator, III. 126
ANDROCLES, ſlave; his adventure with a lion, III. 60
ANDRONICUS (*Livius*) Latin poet, II. 307. he firſt introduces at Rome the performing Parts by two actors: one for pronounciation, and one for geſture, I. 273
*Annals*. Name given at Rome to the public records of the Roman affairs, III. 80
ANTHES, muſician, I. 246
*Anthologia*, Name given a collection of Greek epigrams, II. 303
ANTIGENIDES, player upon the flute, I. 242
ANTIOCHUS, philoſopher, III. 251
ANTIPATER, of *Sidon*, poet and philoſopher, II. 286. III. 269
ANTIPHILUS, painter, his envy of Apelles, I. 220
ANTIPHON, Greek orator, III. 125
ANTISTHENES, Cynic philoſopher, III. 259. his opinion concerning the nature of the Divinity, 377. his manner of making the Athenians ſenſible of the abuſes committed in promotions to the public employments, I. 296
ANTONY, orator; his eloquence how ſtrong and perſuaſive, III. 145
APELLES, famous painter, I. 213. his manner of coming acquainted with Protogenes, 214. with what ſimplicity he expreſſed his own thoughts, and received thoſe of others, 217. Alexander's affection for that painter, 218. adventure that happened to him at Alexandria, 219. how he revenged it, *ibid.*
APTHONIUS, Greek rhetorician, II. 199
APIN, or, APPION, Greek hiſtorian, III. 59
APOLLINARIUS, biſhop of Laodicea, Greek poet, II. 286
APOLLINARIUS, ſophiſt, ſon of the former, II. 287
APOLLODORUS, architect, I. 149. his ſincerity occaſions his death, 150
APOLLODORUS, ſculptor, I. 180
APOLLODORUS, painter, I. 203 his jealouſy of Zeuxis his pupil, 204
APOLLONIUS, of Rhodes, Greek poet, II. 285
APOLLONIUS, Stoic philoſopher, II. 268
APOLLONIUS *(Pergæus)* geometrician, III. 440
APOLLOPHANES, phyſician of Antiochus the Great, diſcovers to that Prince the conſpiracy formed againſt him by Hermias, III. 418
APPIAN, Greek hiſtorian, III. 74
ARATUS, Greek poet, II. 285
ARCADIANS. Advantage of muſic to them, I. 242

ARCESILAUS, philoſopher, founder of the middle academy, III. 246
ARCHAGATUS, Greek phyſician, comes to ſettle at Rome, III. 424. he is treated honourably at firſt, but ſoon after diſmiſſed, 425
ARCHELAUS, philoſopher, III. 225
ARCHIAS *(A. Licinius)* Greek, poet, II. 286
ARCHILOCHUS, inventor of Iambic verſes, I. 252. II. 292
ARCHIMEDES, famous geometrician, III. 441
ARCHITAS, of Tarentum, known by his writings upon the mechanics, III. 442
*Architects*, famous ones of antiquity, I. 123. law of the Epheſians concerning architects, 152
ARCHITECTURE; its beginnings, I. 109. its progreſs, *ibid.* its perfection, *ibid.* architecture, Gothic, I. 118
*Architrave*, term of architecture, I. 121
ARELLIUS, painter, I. 234
ARISTARCHUS, Greek grammarian, II. 151
ARISTÆUS, geometrician, III. 440
ARISTIDES, painter, I. 223. great eſteem for his works, 225
ARISTIPPUS, philoſopher, III. 229. his deſire to hear Socrates, *ibid.* opinions of this philoſopher, 230. his death, 231
ARISTOCLITUS, muſician, I. 249
ARISTON, philoſopher, III. 259
ARISTOPHANES, famous poet, II. 290
ARISTOPHANES, Greek grammarian, II. 151
ARISTOTLE. His birth, III. 252. he makes himſelf a diſciple of Plato, *ibid.* Philip charges him with the education of Alexander, 253. his opinion concerning the nature of the gods, 377. his death 255. he was an excellent grammarian, II. 150. rhetorician, 193. philoſopher, III. 252. and aſtronomer, 459
ARISTOXENUS, muſician and philoſopher, I. 253
ARISTYLLUS, aſtronomer, III. 459
ARITHMETIC: advantages of that ſcience, III. 448
*Army*. Departure and march of an army amongſt the antients, I. 351, 353. manner in which the antients drew up their armies in battle. II. 11
*Arms*, thoſe uſed by the antients, I. 336
ARRIAN, Greek hiſtorian, III. 73
*Arrows*; offenſive arms uſed by the antients, I. 340
ARTEMIDORUS, philoſopher. Pliny's generoſity to him, III. 163
*Arts*: honours rendered in all times by princes to thoſe who excelled in them, I. 106. liberal arts, 105
ASCLEPIADES, of Bithynia, quits the profeſſion of a rhetorician to practiſe phyſic, III. 419
ASPASIA, marries Pericles, II. 262 accuſation formed againſt her at Athens, *ibid.* her great knowledge occaſions her being ranked among the ſophiſts, II. 259
*Aſtronomy*. Origin and progreſs of aſtronomy, III. 454. reflections upon it, *ibid.*
ATHENÆUS, philologer, II. 186
ATHENS, ATHENIANS, choice of the generals, I. 294. raiſing of troops, 305, their pay 328. military diſcipline, 351. character of the people of Athens repreſented in a painting by Parrhaſius, 207. age wherein eloquence flouriſhed in Athens, III. 125
ATHENODORUS, ſculptor, I. 180.

*Athos*, famous mountain of Macedonia, I. 134
*Atom*: ſignification of that word, III. 391. doctrine of atoms, *ibid.*
*Attack*. Methods of attack and defence, II. 93
ATTEIUS, Latin grammarian, II. 160
ATTIUS, Latin poet, II. 300
AVIENUS, Latin poet, III. 27
AULUS GELLIUS, philologer, II. 184
AURELIUS VICTOR, Latin hiſtorian, III. 115
AUSONIUS, Latin poet, III. 20. abridgment of his life, *ibid.* &c.

B.

BACCHYLIDES, Greek poet, II. 297
*Baliſta*, machine of war, uſed by the antients, II. 52
*Baſe*, term of architecture, I. 120
*Baſtinado*, military puniſhment amongſt the Romans, I. 25
*Battles and Combats*, celebrated in antient hiſtory, near the coaſts of Myle, I. 128. near Ecnoma, 134
BATHYLLUS, famous pantomime, I. 191
*Buildings*, famous among the antients, I. 123
BATRACUS, ſculptor, I. 166. his method of inſcribing his name upon his works, 167
*Bœotia*, unjuſt prejudice againſt that country, III. 64
BERNOULLIS, *brothers*, famous geometricians, III. 444
BOETIUS, Latin poet, III. 28
*Botany*, wherein that ſcience conſiſts, III. 429. to what perfection M. Tournefort carried it, 433
*Breaches*, manner of repairing them of the antients, II. 113
BRIAXIS, ſculptor, I. 178
*Brick*, much uſed by the antients in their buildings, I. 124
*Buckler*, defenſive armour of the antients, I. 339
BUPALUS, ſculptor, famous for his repreſentation of Hipponax, I. 159

C.

CADMUS, Phœnician, introduced the uſe of letters in Greece, II. 145
CÆCILIUS, Latin poet, II. 309
CAIN, founder of the firſt city mentioned in ſcripture, I. 111
*Calculation of the infinitely ſmall Calculus Differentialis*, or arithmetic of fluxions, when invented, III. 443
*Calendar Gregorian*, III. 464
CALIGULA, bad taſte of that emperor, II. 338
CALLIAS, architect, ſupplants Diognetus, I. 136
CALLIMACHUS, architect, inventor of the Corinthian order, I. 116
CALLIMACHUS, Greek grammarian, II. 151
CALLIMACHUS, of Cyrene, Elegiac poet, II. 300
CALLINUS, of Epheſus, Greek poet, II. 300
CALPHURNIA, Pliny the younger's ſecond wife; her taſte for polite learning, III. 177
CALPURNIUS, Latin poet, III. 18
CALVINA, a Roman lady: generoſity of Pliny in reſpect to her, III. 186
*Calumniators*, or falſe accuſers. Calumny repreſented in a painting by Apelles, I. 120. See *Informers*.
*Camels*, their uſe in the army, I. 344
CARNEADES, philoſopher, founder of the New Academy, III. 248. embaſſy of Carneades to Rome, II. 202

*Carieh*

*Cartel*, for the ranſom of priſoners of war, II. 17
CARTHAGINIANS, are beat at Ecnoma, I. 334
*Caſk*: Head-piece or helmet, defenſive armour of the antients, I. 337
CASSINI, his treatiſe upon aſtronomy, III. 454
*Catapulta*, machine of war in uſe amongſt the antients, II. 52
CATO, *(M. Portius)* his conduct in reſpect to Carneades, and the other Athenian ambaſſadors, I. 224. is ranked amongſt the hiſtorians, III. 81. and orators, 142. detail into which he entered, when at the head of an army, I. 303
CATO, of Utica, deſcription of that Roman, III. 102
CATULLUS, Latin poet, II. 328
*Cavalry*, of the antients, I. 342
*Cavaliers*, term of fortification, II. 102
*Cauſtic*, ſpecies of painting uſed by the antients, I. 199
CÆCILIUS, Latin poet, II. 309
CELSUS *(Cornelius)* phyſician, III. 421
*Century*, what it was in the Roman armies, I. 312
CÆSAR, *(Julius)* is ranked amongſt the Latin hiſtorians, III. 93
*Character*, term of art in painting: what it is, I. 189
*Chariots*, armed with ſcythes, much uſed by the antients in battles, I. 342
CHÆRILUS, Greek poet, in favour with Alexander, II. 284
*Chiaro-obſcuro*, *(light and ſhade)* term of painting: its definition, I. 190
*Chœnix*, meaſure of corn amongſt the antients, I. 320
*Chromatic*, kind of muſic amongſt the antients, I. 261
CHRYSIPPUS, Stoic philoſopher, his character, III. 267. his doctrine, 268
CHRYSOSTOM *(St. Johan.)* diſciple of Libanius, II. 271
*Chymiſtry*: definition of that art, III. 434
CICERO *(M. Tullius)* his eſteem for Tyrannion, II. 155. his taſte and ardour for philoſophy, III. 307. his opinion concerning the nature of the ſoul, 381. he holds the firſt rank amongſt the rhetoricians, II. 211. and orators, III. 152
CINCIUS, Latin hiſtorian, II. 81
*Circulation of the blood*; diſcovery of it, III. 436
*Cithara*, muſical inſtrument uſed by the antients, I. 260
*Civilians*, famous ones of antiquity, III. 354
CLASSICUS *(Cæcilius)* is accuſed at Rome by the deputies of Bœotia, on his quitting that government, III. 170. death ſpares him the conſequences of that affair, *ibid.*
CLAUDIAN, Latin poet, III. 19
CLEANTHES, Stoic philoſopher of great reputation, III. 266
*Climates*; method taken by the antients for knowing their difference, III. 460
CLITOMACHUS, Carthaginian philoſopher, III. 251
*Cohort*, Roman, I. 312
COLUMBUS *(Chriſtopher)* aſtronomer. His diſcovery of the New World, III. 478
*Colonies*, advantages derived from them by the antients, II. 36
*Coloris*, colouring, one of the principal parts of painting: its effects, I. 190
*Colours* uſed by the antient painters in their works, I. 199

*Column*, term of architecture, I. 120
Column of Trajan, I. 117
*Coma*, city of Italy, III. 187
*Compoſition*, in painting: wherein it conſiſts, I. 187
CONDE *(prince of)* happy deſign, which he gave a painter at work in repreſenting the hiſtory of the Great Conde, for explaining it, I. 212
CONSTANTINE the Great; his continence, III. 211
*Corienæ*, rock beſieged and taken by Alexander, II. 104
CORNUTUS *(Tertullius)* Pliny the younger's collegue when treaſurer of the empire, and afterwards conſul, III. 172
*Correctneſs*, term of painting, I. 188
CORYNNA, ſirnamed the lyric muſe, II. 298
COSSUTIUS, one of the firſt Roman architects, I. 138
COTTA, ſon of Cotta the Roman conſul, is placed in the number of the Latin orators, III. 145
*Counterpoint*, or *Counterpart*, in muſic, I. 262
CRASSUS, excellent orator, II. 147. his edict when cenſor againſt the Latin rhetoricians, II. 207
CRATERUS, phyſician, III. 420
CRATES, of Mallos, Greek grammarian, II. 153
CRATES, Cynic philoſopher, III. 263
CRATINUS, Greek comic poet, II. 290
*Criticiſm*; wherein it conſiſted amongſt the antients, II. 152
CRITOLAUS, philoſopher, III. 259
*Crotona*, city of Greece, reformation introduced there by Pythagoras, III, 280
*Crowns*, given by the Romans to thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle by their valour, II. 39
CTESIAS, of Cnidos, practiſes phyſic in Perſia with great reputation, III, 45. his works place him in the number of the hiſtorians, *ibid.*
CTESILAS, ſculptor, I. 179
CTESIPHON, or CHERSIPHRON, architect, I. 125. machine invented by him for removing great ſtones, 126
*Cuiraſs*, defenſive armour of the antients, I. 336
*Cupid*. Statues of Cupid by Praxiteles and Michael Angelo, I. 175
*Cycloyd*, geometrical inſtrument: invention of it, III. 447
CYLON, famous ſculptor, I. 179
*Cynetha*, city of Arcadia, ferocity of its inhabitants, I. 243
*Cyrenaic*, famous ſect of philoſophers, III. 229

D.

DAMON, ſophiſt, II. 258
*Dancing*, idea which the Romans had of this exerciſe, I. 241. Plutarch's reflection upon muſic and dancing, 257
*Danube*, bridge built over that river by the order of Trajan, I. 149
DANVILLE, geographer to the king of France, III. 465
*Decimation*, puniſhment amongſt the Romans, II. 26
P. DECIUS, Roman tribune, how rewarded for ſaving the army, II. 29
*Declamation* (or ſpeaking) of the theatre compoſed, and ſet to notes amongſt the antients, I. 268. cuſtom of ſending youth to the ſchools of declamation, condemned by Scipio Africanus, 270. declamation or ſpeaking upon the ſtage, diſtinct from the geſture or acting, 273.

*Declamation*, a kind of compoſition for the exerciſe of eloquence, II. 251
*Declaration* of war, I. 290. with what ceremonies attended amongſt the Greeks, *ibid.* and amongſt the Romans, 291
*Decreaſe gradual* (or gradation) of colours, term of painting, I. 189
DEMETRIUS *Phalereus*, Greek orator, III, 137. he compoſes a treatiſe upon elocution highly eſteemed, II. 201. the invention of declamation aſcribed to him, 220
DEMETRIUS, architect, I. 128
DEMETRIUS, ſtatuary, I. 173
DEMOCEDES, phyſician of Crotona; hiſtory of him, III. 413
DEMOCRITUS. That philoſopher's opinion concerning the nature of the divinity, III. 376
DEMODOCUS, poet and muſician, mentioned by Homer with praiſe, I. 247
DEMOSTHENES, the orator: his character, III. 134
DESCARTES. Modern phyſics indebted to him for moſt of their improvements, III. 448
*Deſign*, one of the parts of painting, I. 188
DEXIPHANES, architect, I. 135
*Dialectics*, or logic, what the antient philoſophers thought of it, III. 311
*Dialogue*. A very difficult manner of writing, II. 211
*Diatonic*, one of the three ſpecies of the muſic of the antients, I. 261
*Digeſt*, III. 360
DINARCHUS, Greek orator, III. 136
DINOCRATES, architect. His hiſtory, I. 133. he is appointed by Alexander to build the city of Alexandria, 134
DIODORUS *Siculus*, Greek hiſtorian, III. 52
DIODORUS, Greek philoſopher, III. 259
DIOGENES *Laertius*, Greek hiſtorian, III. 75
DIOGENES, Cynic philoſopher, III. 260
DIOGNETUS, architect of Rhodes, rewarded by his country, I. 136
DION CASSIOS, Greek hiſtorian, III. 76
DIONYSIUS of Harlicarnaſſeus. His hiſtory and other works, II. 196. III. 55
DIONYSIUS the Thracian, Greek grammarian, II. 156
DIOSCORIDES, phyſician of Anazarba, III. 420
DIPÆNES, one of the firſt ſculptors, that worked in marble, I. 159
*Diſcipline military*. In what manner the Greeks obſerved it, II. 19. how ſtrictly maintained amongſt the Romans, 22
*Diſpoſition*, term of painting, I. 187
*Diverſity*. One of the parts of what is called deſign in painting, I. 189
*Divinity*. Exiſtence and attributes of the Divinity, III. 367. nature of the Divinity, 374. the Divinity preſides in the Government of the world, and makes mankind his peculiar care, 383
DODART, M. his exact calculation of all the notes and half notes of a common voice, II. 144
*Dolphins*, Machine of war, II. 130
DOMITIAN. Treated as a God by Quintilian, II. 232. his death, 234
DONATUS, famous grammarian and philologer, II. 189
*Doric*, meaſure of muſic, I. 258
*Doryphorus*, exquiſite ſtatue made by Polycletus, I. 170

DRACO, legiſlator of Athens, II. 283
DRACO, ſon of Hippocrates, III. 418
*Duel*, unknown amongſt the Greeks and Romans, I. 340

E.

*Eclipſes*. At what time the antients firſt knew the cauſes of them, III. 402
*Economa*, city of Sicily, famous for a victory of the Romans over the Carthaginians, II. 134
*Education* of children. Wiſe maxim of a philoſopher, concerning the education of children, III. 243
*Elegance* of Deſign, term of painting, I. 188
*Elegy*. Derivation of that word: its definition, II. 299
*Elephants*. Their ſervice in battle, I. 343
*Eloquence*. Definition of it, III. 117. it was the principal ſtudy of the youth of Athens and Rome, II. 202. ages when it flouriſhed moſt in thoſe two cities, III. 141. change that happened in it amongſt the Greeks, 136. and Romans, 158. wherein military eloquence conſiſts, II. 6.
EMPEDOCLES, of Agrigentum, Greek rhetorician, II. 193. and Pythagorean philoſopher. His opinions concerning the nature of the Divinity, III. 290
ENNIUS, Latin poet and hiſtorian, II. 307
*Entablature*, term of architecture, I. 120
*Enthuſiaſm*, of Lyric poetry, II. 293
*Epheſus*, city of Ionia. Famous temple built there in honour of Diana, I. 137
EPICURUS, philoſopher. His birth, III. 300. he teaches grammar before he devotes himſelf to philoſophy, II. 150. he ſettles at Athens, and opens a ſchool of philoſophy, III. 300. ſyſtem of atoms placed in reputation by his philoſopher. 301. his opinions of the *ſummum bonum*, or ſupreme good of man, 324. and of the formation of the world, 390. death of Epicurus, 302
*Epigram*, kind of poem: its qualities, II. 301
*Epic* (poem) of all poems the moſt difficult, II. 338
EPICTETUS, Stoic philoſopher, III. 272
ERASISTRATUS, phyſician, famous for his addreſs and penetration in diſcovering the cauſe of Antiochus's ſickneſs, III. 418
ERATOSTHENES of Cyrene, philologer: extent of his knowledge and erudition, II. 169
EUBULIDES, philoſopher, of the Megarean ſect, III. 233
EUCLID of Megara, founder of the Megarean ſect III. 232. his ardor to hear Socrates, *ibid.*
EUCLID, mathematician, III. 440
EUDOCIA, or, *Athenais*, daughter of the Sophiſt Leontius, is ranked amongſt the poets, II. 288
EUDOXUS, geometrician and aſtronomer, III. 442
EUNAPIUS, Greek hiſtorian, III. 78
EUPHORION of Chalcis, Greek poet, II. 285
EUPOLUS, comic poet, II. 290
EURIPIDES, tragic poet, II. 290
EUTROPIUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 116
*Expreſſion*, term of painting, I. 189

F.

FABIUS MAXIMUS (*Quintus*) he does not diſdain to ſerve under his ſon as his Lieutenant, I. 304
Q. FABIUS PICTOR, Latin hiſtorian, III. 84

*Fables.* Authors to whom the invention of them is aſcribed, II. 356. uſe of fables in reſpect to the education of children, 357
*Faith.* Faith of engagements one of the foundations of ſociety, III. 345
*Fermiers*, or, *Farmers of Taxes*, their want of humanity, III. 134
*Feſcennine*, ſatyrical verſes, II. 305
FLACCUS *(Valerius)* Latin poet, III. 11
FLACCUS *(Verrius)* Latin grammarian, II. 160
*Flax*; deſcription and uſe of that plant, II. 175
FLORUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 113
*Fonte.* Antiquity of the founders art, I. 159
*Fortifications* of the antients, II. 42
FORTUNATUS, Latin poet, III. 28
*Foſſés*, ditches of fortifications: how filled up, II. 105.
*Freedmen.* Their credit under bad emperors, III. 206
FREINSHEMIUS, obligation the world has to him for his ſupplement of the loſt parts of Livy's and Quintus Curtius's hiſtories, III. 88
*Friza*, term of architecture, I. 121

G.

GALEN, famous phyſician: his hiſtory, III. 421
GALILEO, modern aſtronomer, III. 464
GASSENDI, modern aſtronomer, III. 464
*General.* Conduct of the antients in the choice of their generals, I. 294. preliminary cares of a general, 347. the ſucceſs of a battle depends principally on the general, II. 1. attention of the generals of the antients in conſulting the gods, and haranguing their troops before battles, 4
*Genius.* Whether the moderns excel the antients or not in this point, II. 45
*Geography.* The moſt famous geographers of antiquity, III. 466. countries known by the antients, 471. wherein the modern geographers excel the antient, 473
*Geometry.* People to whom the invention of that ſcience is attributed, III. 438. diviſion of geometry into ſpeculative, *ibid.* and practical, 439. famous geometricians of antiquity, 440 revolutions almoſt total in geometry, 443
*Geſture* of the theatre, compoſed and reduced to notes, I. 271. diviſion of geſture (or action) and declamation (or ſpeaking) between two actors, 273
*Glotta*, mouth of the windpipe, that forms tones and ſound, II. 145
GLYCERA of Sicyon, courtezan, who excelled in the art of making wreaths of flowers, II. 143
GNYPHON, Latin grammarian II. 160
*Good. Summum Bonum.* Opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the ſupreme good, III. 321. opinions of Epicurus, 324. of the Stoics, 331. of the Peripatetics, 339
*Good man:* Contraſt between a good man under a load of evils, and a wicked man in the higheſt affluence and good fortune, III. 349
*Golden-houſe* of Nero: deſcription of it, I. 150
GORGIAS, ſophiſt, is ſent deputy from the Leontines to Athens, to demand aid againſt the Syracuſans, II. 262
*Gothic:* Kind of architecture, I. 118
*Government.* View and end of all government, III. 341

GRACCHI. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their eloquence, III. 143
*Grammar:* What it is, II. 142. what gave birth to it, 163. how much in honour amongſt the antients, 156, 246. it turns upon four principles, *ibid.* Greeks and Latins famous in this way, 149, 160
GRATIAN. Gratitude of that emperor to his præceptor Auſonius, III. 20
*Graving.* Manner of engraving on metals by the antients, I. 160
GREECE, GREEKS. Manner of undertaking and declaring war, amongſt them, I. 286. choice of the general and officers, 294. their pay, 328. puniſhments, rewards and trophies amongſt them, II. 18. moſt of the arts and ſciences invented and brought to perfection by the Greeks, I. 105. illuſtrious men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt by the arts and ſciences amongſt the Greeks, I. 123, 162, 201, 246, 255. III. 454, 465. *See the articles* ATHENIANS *and* LACEDEDEMONIANS, *for what relates to the wars of Greece with the Perſians and Macedonians.*
ST. GREGORY of Nazianzum, ranked amongſt the Greek poets, II. 287
GRYLLUS, ſon of Xenophon, dies glorioufly in the battle of Mantinæa, III. 227.
GUERIC *(Otho)* conſul of Magdeburg, inventor of the air-pump, III. 409.

H.

*Harangue.* Cuſtom of the antients to harangue their troops before battle, II. 4
*Harp*, muſical inſtrument, I. 260
HARVEY, Engliſh doctor, who firſt diſcovered the circulation of the blood, III. 436
*Haſtati*, Roman Troops, I. 311
HECATÆUS of Abdera, Greek grammarian, II. 150
*Helepolis*, machine of war invented by Demetrius, II. 86
*Helmets*, arms of the antients, I 336
*Heralds at Arms*, reſpected by the antients, I. 292
HERMOGENES, Greek rhetorician, II. 198
HERODIAN, Greek hiſtorian, III. 77
HERODICUS, phyſician, III. 414
HERODOTUS, Greek hiſtorian; his birth, III. 30. time when he begins to write, *ibid.* applauſes which he received at the Olympic games, on reading his hiſtory there, 31. his retreat to Thurium, where he ends his days. 32
HEROPHILUS, phyſician, III. 413
HESIOD, Greek poet, II. 282
HESYCHIUS, Greek grammarian, II. 159
HIPPARCHIA, ſiſter of Metrocles the orator, marries Crates the Cynic, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of her family. III. 264
HIPPARCHUS of Alexandria, aſtronomer, III. 459
HIPPOCRATES, famous phyſician: his birth, III. 414. his diſintereſtedneſs, 417. his veneration for the divinity, *ibid.* his death, 418
HIPPONAX, ſatyric poet, known by his verſes againſt Bupalus and Athenis, I. 159. II. 222
HIRAM, architect employed by Solomon in building the temple, I. 123
*Hiſtory.* Advantages to be derived from the ſtudy of hiſtory, III. 29

HOMER, famous Greek poet, II. 280. Quintilian's judgment of Homer, 282. Homer may be conſidered as the moſt antient of geographers, III. 17
L'HOPITAL *(Marquis de)* has done honour to geometry, III. 445
HORACE, Latin poet, his birth, II. 339. his extraction, *ibid.* his education, *ibid.* Mæcenas admits him into the number of his friends, 343. death of Horace, 348. his manners, 350. character of his works, *ibid.*
*Horſe*, of what uſe that animal is to mankind, I. 345
*Horſe*. Horſe, equites, or knights at Rome, I. 313
HYAGNIS, muſician, to whom the invention of the flute is aſcribed, I. 247
*Hydroſtatics*; definition of them, III. 453
HYGINIUS, Latin grammarian, II. 160
HYPERIDES, Greek orator, III. 135. he dies in a very tragical manner, *ibid.*

I.

JALYSUS, founder of Rhodes, repreſented in a painting by Protogenes, I. 225
JANSEN *(Zachariah)* Hollander, inventor of the teleſcope and microſcope, III. 407
*Javelins*, arms uſed by the antients, I. 341
IBYCUS, Greek poet, II. 297
ICTINUS, architect, who built the temple of Ceres and Proſerpine at Eleuſis, I. 137
*Jeruſalem*, city of Paleſtine, beſieged and taken by Titus Veſpaſian, II. 115
JEWS. Surprizing action of a Jew at the ſiege of Joſapat, II. 75
*Infinites. Calculus Differentialis.* Arithmetic of infinites, or fluxions diſcovered, III. 444
*Informers*. Emperor Trajan's maxim in reſpect to informations, III. 176. See *Calumniators*, or, *Falſe Accuſers*.
*Inharmonic*, one of the three kinds of muſic of the antients, I. 267
*Inſtruments of muſic*, amongſt the antients, I. 259
*Invalids*. Royal hoſpital for invalids at Paris, II. 37
*Invention*: wherein it conſiſts in painting, I. 187
*Ionic*. Sect of philoſophers, called the Ionic ſect, III. 218
*Ionic*, order of architecture, I. 115
JOSEPHUS, Jew, Greek hiſtorian, III. 60. abridgment of his life, *ibid.* character of the hiſtory compoſed by him, 64, *&c.*
IPHIGENIA. Famous picture of Iphigenia by Timanthes, I. 210
ISÆUS, of Chalcis, Greek orator, III. 133
ISOCRATES, Greek orator: his birth, III. 128. his education, *ibid.* ſchool of eloquence opened by Iſocrates at Athens, *ibid.* his wonderful diſcernment of the genius of his pupils, 130. his love of virtue and public good, 132. his death, 131. character of his ſtyle, *ibid.*
ISRAELITES. See JEWS. Muſic of the Iſraelite prieſts, I. 265
*Italic*. Sect of philoſophers ſo called, III. 277. diviſion of that ſect into four other ſects, 293
*Itinerary* of Antoninus, III. 461
JUBAL, inventor of muſic, I. 238
JUPITER, planet, III. 486. Jupiter's ſatellites, 483
*Juriſprudence*, or knowledge of law, in particular of the Roman, or Civil law, III. 353
*Juſtice*. The ſtrongeſt tie of ſociety, III. 362
JUSTIN, Latin hiſtorian, III. 114
JUSTINIAN, the emperor, reforms the Roman law, III. 360
JUVENAL, Latin poet, III. 4

K.

KINGS. PRINCES. Duties of a king, III. 70. application in rendering juſtice, 360. to know how to own faults when they happen to commit them, 363. to favour arts and ſciences, I. 217. temperance is a very eſtimable virtue in a king, III. 211

L.

LABERIUS *(Decimus)* Roman knight and poet, at Cæſar's requeſt, plays a part in one of his own pieces upon the ſtage, II. 329

LACEDÆMONIANS. Choice of their generals and officers, I. 295. levy of ſoldiers, 305. their pay, 328. military diſcipline of Sparta, *ibid.* navy of the Lacedæmonians, II. 125

LAMACHUS. His poverty makes him contemptible to the troops, I. 330

LAMPRIAS, Plutarch's uncle, III. 164. his fine ſaying of himſelf, *ibid.*

*Lances*, arms of the antients, I. 340

*Languages*. Reflections upon the progreſs and alteration of languages, II. 161

*Laws*. Roman laws, III. 353 *Civil*, or *Roman*, *Law*, *ibid.* Its beginnings, *ibid.* it receives a new form under the emperor Juſtinian, 359

*Leaver*, inſtrument in mechanics, III. 452

*Legion Roman*; ſoldiers of which it was compoſed, I. 311

LÆLIUS, Roman orator; how far he carried his candor and integrity, III. 144

LEMERY: his knowledge in chymiſtry, III. 434

LEOCHARES, one of the ſculptors, who worked upon the famous Mauſoleum, which Artemiſia caused to be erected to her husband Mauſolus, I. 178

LEUCIPPUS, Stoic philoſopher, III. 260

*Levy of ſoldiers*, amongſt the antients, I. 305

LIBANIUS of Antioch, ſophiſt, II. 269. his friendſhip for St. Baſil, 270

*Library*. Royal Library, founded by Lewis XIV. II. 278

*Lieutenants*, *Generals*: rank which they held in the Roman army, I. 304

*Light houſe* of Alexandria, I. 133

*Lines* of circumvallation and contravallation amongſt the antients, II. 93

LINUS, muſician, I. 246

LIVY, Latin hiſtorian, III. 86

LONGINUS *(Dionyſius)* Greek rhetorician, II. 199

LUCAN, Latin poet, III. 5

LUCIAN, philologer, II. 178. dream which he relates in the beginning of his works, 179

LUCILIUS, Roman knight and poet, II. 319. the invention of ſatyr is aſcribed to him, 320

LUCRETIUS, Latin poet, II. 326 his opinion concerning religion and providence, 327

LUCULLUS, his friendſhip for Antiochus, philoſopher of the antient academy, for which he had declared, III. 252

*Lycæum*, place of exerciſe at Athens, III. 238

LYCON, philoſopher, III. 259

LYCURGUS, Greek orator, III. 133

*Lydian*, meaſure of the antient muſic, I. 258

LYNCEUS of Samos, Greek grammarian, II. 150

*Lyre*, muſical inſtrument of the antients, I. 260. change of that inſtrument in reſpect to the number of the ſtrings, *ibid.*

LYSIAS, of Syracuſe, Greek orator,

tor, goes to ſettle at Thurium, III. 126. he carries Socrates a diſcourſe for his defence, 127. character of Lyſias's ſtyle, 128.
LYSIPPUS, famous ſculptor, I. 160
LYSISTRATUS, of Sicyone, ſculptor, to whom the invention of portraits in plaiſter and wax are aſcribed, I. 158

M.

*Machines of war*, uſed by the antients, II. 46, 115
MACROBIUS, philologer, II. 188
*Magiſtrate*. Duty of a magiſtrate, III. 364
*Man*. Pliny's deſcription of man, II. 176. men are the ſame in all ages, III. 50
*Manifeſtos*, public writings, previous in theſe days to declarations of war, I. 293
*Maniple*. What it was in the Roman army, I. 312
*Marble*: when firſt uſed in ſculpture, I. 158
MARCELLUS, (*Marcus Pomponius*) II. 160
*March of the armies* of the antients, I. 353, &c.
MARIUS deſcribed, III. 100
MARIUS PRISCUS, proconſul of Africa, is accuſed of having ſold juſtice, and even the lives of innocent perſons, III. 167. he is baniſhed, 169
MAROT, French poet, II. 166
MARSYAS, muſician, to whom the invention of the Flute is aſcribed, I. 247
MARTIAL, Latin poet, III. 12
*Mathematics*, extent of that ſcience, III. 437
MAUSOLUS, king of Caria. Honour paid to his memory by Artemiſia his wife, I. 132
*Meals*. Frugality of the generals of the antients in their meals, I. 372
*Meaſures*. Different meaſures of the antient muſic, I. 258
MECÆNAS, favourite of Auguſtus, and patron of the learned, III. 101
*Mechanics*: definition and utility of that ſcience, III. 450
*Medicine*. Origin and antiquity of medicines, III. 411. diſcoveries which have enriched modern phyſic, 426. famous phyſicians of antiquity, 412
*Megarean*, ſect of philoſophers, III. 232
MELEAGER, Greek poet, II. 303
*Memory*. Examples of perſons of extraordinary memories, II. 220
MENANDER, comic poet, II. 291. change which he introduced in comedy, *ibid.*
MENECRATES, phyſician, III. 418
METON, the aſtronomer, counterfeits the madman, and wherefore, III. 457
MEARS (*John de*) finds the method of giving notes an unequal value in reſpect of time, I. 263
MICHAEL-ANGELO, famous ſculptor: his excellency and modeſty, I. 175
*Microſcope*: invention of that inſtrument, and its utility, III. 408
MIMNERMUS, Greek poet, II. 300
*Miniature*, kind of painting, I. 200
*Miniſter*. Wiſe leſſons for a miniſter, III. 343
MITHRIDATES VI. Paterculus's deſcription of that prince, III. 101. he made himſelf famous for his ſkill in medicines, 418
MODESTINUS (*Herennius*) antient civilian, III. 359
*Modeſty*: traces of it amongſt the antients, I. 177
*Module*, term of architecture, I. 121
MOLIERE, French poet; difference between him and Terence, II. 360

Molo, of Rhodes, famous rhetorician, from whom Cicero received leſſons, II. 209. III. 154
Montagne, French author, II. 166
*Moral Philoſophy*, or *Ethics*, object of it, III. 320. opinions of the antient philoſophers concerning the ſupreme good, or happineſs of man, 321
*Moſaic*, kind of painting, I. 200
Muretus, one of the moſt learned men of his age: trick that he plays Scaliger, I. 176
Musa *(Antonius)* phyſician to the emperor Auguſtus, III. 420
*Muſculus*, machine of war amongſt the antients, II. 50
*Muſic*. Its origin, I. 237. it was in all times the delight of mankind, 239. the Greeks conſidered it as an eſſential part in the education of youth, 240. its abuſe, 256
Mycon, painter, does not imitate the generoſity of Polygnotus of the ſame profeſſion, I. 202
Myron, Athenian ſculptor, I. 170

N.

Nævius, Latin poet and hiſtorian, II. 307
*Nature*, its effects, III. 407
*Navigation*, its origin, II. 121. wonderful change in navigation in effect of the compaſs, III. 476
*Navy*. Naval affairs of the antients, II. 121
Nazarius, Latin orator, III. 212
Nemesianus, Latin poet, III. 18
Newton (Sir *Iſaac*) Engliſh philoſopher, III. 405, 444
Nicander, Greek poet, II. 285
Nicias, famous painter, I. 228
*Nobility*. Fine example propoſed to the young nobility in the perſon of Cæſar, III. 95
Norbanus, Roman, accuſed of ſedition, whom Antony the orator cauſes to be abſolved by the force of his eloquence, III. 146
*Novellæ*, laws of Juſtinian, III. 360
Numidians, people of Africa: their principal force conſiſted in cavalry, I. 345

O.

*Obeliſks* of Egypt. Their utility, III. 460
*Obſervatory* built at Paris by order of Lewis XIV. III. 465
*Ode*, kind of poem, II. 292
Olympius. There were two of them, both famous performers upon the flute, I. 247
Onesicritus, philoſopher and hiſtorian, becomes diſciple of Diogenes, III. 262
*Onyx*, a kind of agate, upon which the antients engraved, I. 160
Opilius *(Aurelius)* Latin grammarian, II. 160
*Optics*: utility of that ſcience, I. 164
*Orator*. Quality moſt eſſential to an orator, III. 117. idea of a perfect orator, 121. Greek orators, 123. Latin orators, 141.
*Order*, term of architecture, I. 114. different orders of architecture, the Doric, *ibid.* the Ionic, 115. the Corinthian, 116. the Tuſcan, 117. the Compoſite, 118. terms of art uſed in the five orders of architecture, 120
*Ornaments*: Women naturally fond of them, III. 281
Orpheus, muſician, I. 247
Ovid, Latin poet: abridgment of his life, II. 352. his baniſhment, 353. his death and epitaph, 355 character of his poetry, 356

PACUVIUS, Latin Poet, II. 309
*Pain:* opinion of the antient philoſophers concerning pain, III. 324
*Painting.* Origin of painting, I. 187. different parts of painting, 188. of the True in painting, 193. different kinds of painting, 197. brief hiſtory of the moſt famous painters of Greece, 201. abuſe of painting by thoſe who excelled moſt in it, 233, 234
PALEMON *(Remmius)* Latin grammarian, II. 161
*Paliſades.* Difference of thoſe uſed by the Greeks and Romans in fortifying their Camps, I. 358
PAMPHILIUS, of Amphipolis, painter, I. 209
PANÆSIUS, Stoic philoſopher, III. 270
PANENUS, painter, I. 201.
*Pantomimes.* Art of the pantomimes amongſt the antients, I. 278
PAPINIAN, famous Civilian, III. 356. his death, *ibid.*
PAPIRIUS collects the laws of the kings of Rome, III. 353
PAPPUS, of Alexandria, geometrician, III. 440
PARACELSUS, famous chymiſt, III. 434
*Paraſanga*, meaſure of ways peculiar to the Perſians, I. 354
PARRHASIUS, famous painter, I. 206. he carries the prize of painting againſt Xeuxis, in a public diſpute, *ibid.* he has not the ſame ſucceſs againſt Timanthes, 209
PARTHENIUS, Greek poet, II. 286
*Parthenon*, temple of Minerva, at Athens, I. 165
PASCAL, amazing force of his genius, III. 441
PATERCULUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 97. he excelled in deſcriptions and characters, *ibid.*
PAULUS *(Julius Paulus)* civil lawyer, III. 358
PAULINUS *(Saint)* biſhop of Nola, Latin poet, III. 22
PAUSIAS, of Sicyon, painter, I. 226
*Pay* of the troops by ſea and land amongſt the antients, I. 328
PEDIANUS *(Aſconius)* philologer, II. 170
PERICLES, Athenian: care that he takes to cultivate his mind by the ſtudy of the ſciences, and of exerciſing himſelf in eloquence, III. 224. he adorns Athens with magnificent buildings, I. 129
*Peripatetics*, ſect of philoſophers, followers of Ariſtotle, III. 252. opinion of thoſe philoſophers concerning the ſupreme good, 339
PERSIUS, Latin poet, III. 2
*Perſpective*, one of the principal parts of painting, I. 189
PETRONIUS, Latin poet, III. 6
PHÆDRUS, Latin poet, freedman of Auguſtus, II. 356
*Pharos*, iſland of Alexandria, I. 135
PHEMIUS, famous muſician. Homer's father in law, I. 247
PHIDIAS, famous painter and ſculptor, I. 201. ingratitude of the Athenians to him, 167. means that he employs to be revenged on them for it, *ibid.* very ſingular diſpute which he was made to enter into after his death, I. 179
PHILEMON, comic poet, preferred by the Greeks to Menander in his own life time, II. 291
PHILETES, of Cos, grammarian, and poet, is made præceptor to Ptolomy Philadelphus by his father Ptolomy Soter, II. 150, 300

PHILIP, of Theſſalonica, poet and author of epigrams, II. 304
PHILIP of Acarnania, phyſician, known from the ſalutary draught which he gave Alexander, III. 418.
PHILO, famous architect, I. 137
PHILO, philoſopher and rhetorician, III. 251
PHILO, the Jew, Greek hiſtorian, III. 59
PHILOSOPHERS, *Philoſophy*. Definition of philoſophy, III. 215. it conſiſts of three parts, logic, ethics, and phyſics, 310. diviſion of philoſophy into two ſects, the Ionic and Italic, 218. Ionic ſect, *ibid.* it is divided into ſeveral other ſects, 229. Cyrenaic ſect, *ibid.* Megarean ſect, 232. Elean and Eletrian ſects, 233. Academic ſects, *ibid.* the antient academy, 234. the middle academy, 246. and the new academy, 248. Peripatetic ſect, 252. Cynic ſect, 259. Stoic ſect, 264. Italic ſect, 277. diviſion of this ſect into four others, 293. ſect of Heraclitus, *ibid.* ſect of Democritus, 295. Sceptic or Pyrrhonic ſect, 298. Epicurean ſect, 300. general reflection upon the ſects of philoſophers, 303. opinions of the antient philoſophers upon the Dialectics or Logic, 311. upon morality or the Ethics, 320. upon the ſupreme good of man, 321. upon the virtues and duties of life, 341. upon the Metaphyſics, 367. upon the exiſtence of the Divinity, 368. upon the nature of the Divinity, 374. upon providence 383. upon the formation of the world, 387. upon the nature of the ſoul, 396 upon the phyſics, 411
PHILOSTRATUS, philologer, II. 187
PHOTIAS, Greek hiſtorian, III. 79
*Phrygian*, meaſure in muſic, I. 258
PHRYNE, famous courtezan of Greece, I. 173. impudent propoſal of Phryne, 176
PHRYNIS, famous muſician of antiquity, I. 249
*Phyſics* of the antients, III. 411
PINDAR, Greek Lyric poet, II. 217. character of his works, 298
*Pikes*, offenſive arms uſed by the antients, I. 340
*Piræum*, port of Athens, I. 129
PISO FRUGI (*L. Calpurnius*) rewards the ſervices of one of his ſons with a crown of gold. II. 30. he is ranked amongſt the Latin hiſtorians, III. 82.
*Places*. Attack and defence of places by the antients, II. 115
*Planets*: ſignification of that word, III. 485. obſervations upon the planets, *ibid.*
PLANUDES, monk of Conſtantinople: his collection of epigrams, II. 304
PLATO, philoſopher of Athens: his birth, III. 234. he attaches himſelf to Socrates, *ibid.* he retires to Mægara to avoid the rage of the Athenians, 235. he travels into Egypt, *ibid.* Italy and Sicily, *ibid.* his Death, 237. his ſyſtem of doctrine, 236. what he thought of the nature of the Divinity, *ibid.* Plato's fine thought upon the formation of the world, 394. ſecret jealouſy between Plato and Xenophon, 227. Plato's hatred of Democritus, 298. means which he uſed to reform his nephew Speuſippus, 238. Plato's writings give him a place amongſt the grammarians, II. 149. and rhetoricians, 193
PLAUTUS, comic poet, II. 310. character of his poetry and ſtyle, 311, &c.
PLINY THE ELDER, philologer, II. 171.

171. abridgement of his life, *ibid.* ſad accident by which he loſes it, 173. his ſtyle, 174
PLINY THE YOUNGER, Latin orator, III. 159. his birth, 160. his education, *ibid.* his application to ſtudy, 178. by what degrees he obtains the firſt offices in the ſtate, 161. important occaſions upon which he diſplays the force of his eloquence and indignation againſt oppreſſors of the provinces, 163. he is ſent proconſul into Pontus and Bithynia, 172. his letter to Trajan concerning the Chriſtians, 173. Trajan's anſwer upon that head, 175. Pliny's return to Rome, 176. his death, 178. Pliny's eſteem for perſons of merit and learning, 181. his liberalities, 185. his innocent pleaſures, 189. his ardour for reputation and glory, 192. panegyric which he pronounced upon Trajan, 197. Pliny's ſtyle, 207
PLOTIUS GALLUS *(Lucius)* Latin rhetorician, II. 205.
PLUTARCH of Chæronea, Greek hiſtorian, III. 64. abridgment of his life, *ibid.* his works, 70
*Pneumatics.* Origin of the air-pump, III. 409
*Pœcile,* Ποικίλη, gallery, or porch of paintings at Athens, where the Stoics uſed to aſſemble, I. 202
*Poeſy;* POETS. Origin of poetry, II. 277. Greek poets, 280. Greek poets who excelled in epic poetry, *ibid.* tragic poets, 289. comic poets, 290. Iambic poets, 292. lyric poets, *ibid.* elegiac poets, 299. epigrammatic poets, 301. Latin poets divided into three ages, 304. the antient Greek poets compoſed the declamation or pronunciation of their pieces themſelves, I. 277
POLEMON, philoſopher of the antient academy, III. 245
POLLIO, Latin poet, II. 332
POLLUX *(Julius)* Greek grammarian and philologer, II. 186
POLYBIUS, Greek hiſtorian: his birth, III. 46. his great friendſhip with the ſecond Scipio Africanus, 47. principal works compoſed by Polybius, 49, *&c.*
POLYBIUS, phyſician, ſon-in-law and ſucceſſor of Hippocrates, III. 418
POLYCLETUS, famous ſculptor, I. 179
POLYGNOTUS, famous painter, I. 202
POMPEY. Deſcription of him by Paterculus, III. 103
PONPONIUS, civilian, III. 358
POSIDONIUS, Stoic philoſopher, III. 272
POSIDONIUS, aſtronomer and geographer, III. 460
POSTHUMIUS, conſul, to revenge himſelf of the people of Præneſte, exacts great expences for his entertainment from them, and thereby infringes the Julian law, I. 334
PRAXITELES, famous ſculptor of antiquity, I. 173
*Prayer* of a victorious conſul on his entering the capitol in triumph, II. 35. prayer which Epictetus deſired to make at his death, III. 274
*Præfects* of the allies, Roman officers, I. 304
*Primipilus,* dignity in the Roman army, I. 315
*Priſoners:* ranſom of them amongſt the antients, II. 17
PRODICUS, famous ſophiſt, II. 264. his declamation of fifty drachmas, 265, his death, *ibid.*
PROERÆSUS, ſophiſt, to whom the Romans erected a ſtatue, II. 261
*Profile,* in painting, invention of that art, I. 221
PROPERTIUS, Latin poet, II. 356
PROSPER *(St.)* Latin poet, III. 25

PROTAGORAS of Abdera, ſophiſt, II. 263. ſingular law-ſuit between Protagoras and one of his diſciples, *ibid.* opinion of Protagoras concerning the Divinity, III. 372. the Athenians expel him their city, *ibid.* and cauſe his works to be burnt, 374.
PROTOGENES, famous painter, I. 225. manner of his firſt acquaintance with Apelles, 214. works of Protogenes, 225
PRUDENTIUS, a Chriſtian poet, III. 18
PTOLOMY II. cauſes the tower of Pharos to be erected, I. 135
PTOLOMY, celebrated aſtronomer and geographer, III. 454
PUBLICIUS CERTUS, Roman ſenator, is excluded from the conſulſhip by Pliny's remonſtrances, III. 166.
*Puniſhments*, eſtabliſhed amongſt the troops of the antients, I. 18, 22
PYLADES inventor of the art of the pantomimes, I. 191
PYRGOTELES, famous ſculptor, I. 218
PYRRHO, philoſopher, chief of the ſect which bears his name III. 298. his method of philoſophizing, *ibid.* his indifference, *ibid.* abominable maxim taught by him, 300
PYTHAGORAS, of Samos, philoſopher III. 277. travels of Pythagoras, *ibid.* he goes to Italy, and ſettles at Crotona, where he opens a ſchool of philoſophy, 278. noviciate of ſilence, which he made his diſciples obſerve, 279. wonderful change that his doctrines effected in Italy, and eſpecially at Crotona, 280. his death, 290. opinions of that philoſopher concerning the nature of the Divinity, 375. his ſyſtem of the metempſychoſis, and chimeras which he related on that head, 283, &c. wonders attributed to Pythagoras, 285
PYTHEAS, famous aſtronomer and geographer, III. 458
PYTHIS, ſculptor, who adorned the Mauſoleum, I. 179
PYXODORUS, Shepherd, diſcovers a mine of marble near Epheſus, I. 125. the Epheſians decree great honours to him, 126

Q.

*Quæſtor*, Roman officer; his functions in the army, I. 319
QUINTUS CURTIUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 112
QUINTILIAN, Latin rhetorician, II. 227 his birth, *ibid.* means which he uſed for acquiring eloquence *ibid.* he opens a ſchool of eloquence at Rome, 229. and at the ſame time exerciſes the function of an advocate, *ibid.* he obtains the emperor's permiſſion for quitting thoſe two employments, 230. he loſes one of his ſons, 231. he begins his *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, 232. Domitian confides the education of the two princes his grand nephews to him, *ibid.* his impious flattery of that emperor, *ibid.* his grief for the loſs of his ſecond ſon, 234. he finiſhes his work, the *Inſtitutiones Oratoriæ*, 236. the time of his death not known, 237. plan and character of Quintilian's rhetoric, 240. method of inſtructing youth in his time, 245

R.

*RAM.* Machine of war uſed by the antients, II. 69
*Religion*, Attention of the antients in diſcharging all the duties in religion, I. 351
*Rhetorician:* the meaning of that word, II. 191. Greek rhetoricians, 193. Latin rhetoricians, 202

*Rhetoric* inſcribed to Herennius, II. 217
RHODOPE, famous courtezan, II. 295
*Romances*, bad taſte of thoſe who delight in reading ſuch works, III. 64
ROSCIUS, famous comedian, I. 269. the yearly amount of his pay, 276
RUSTICUS ARULENUS, Stoic philoſopher, and Pliny's maſter, is put to death by Domitian's order, III. 160

S.

SABINUS *(Fabius)* antient civilian, III. 357
SACROBOSCO, *(John)* famous aſtronomer, III. 462
SALLUST, Latin hiſtorian, III. 82. character of his writings, *ibid.*
*Salutation*, or the art of dancing and geſture, part of the muſic of the antients, I. 271
SAPPHO, of Mitylene, ſirnamed the tenth Muſe, II. 295
*Satellites* of Jupiter, III. 483
*Saturn*, planet, III. 486
SAURUS, ſculptor, I. 166. his method for affixing his name to his works, 167
SCALIGER, illuſtrious critic of his time, almoſt always odd and ſingular in his judgment, III. 4. trick played him by Muretus his rival and competitor, I. 176
SCAURUS, *(M.)* what he did to imortalize the glory of his edileſhip, I. 147, 227
*Sceptics*: ſect of philoſophers ſo called, III. 298
SCÆVA centurion. Extraordinary bravery of that Roman, rewarded by Cæſar, II. 32
*Sciences*. See *Arts*. Superior ſciences, III. 213
SCIPIO *(Publius)* Character and praiſe of him, II. 204. his intimate friendſhip with Polybius, III. 47. portrait of Scipio by Paterculus, III. 101
SCOPAS, architect and ſculptor, I. 177
*Sculpture*. Different kinds of ſculpture, I. 155. famous ſculptors of antiquity, 162
SCYLLIS, ſculptor, one of the firſt that uſed marble, I. 159
SEJANUS, favourite of Tiberius, III. 98. double portrait of Sejanus, 99
SEMPRONIA, Roman lady; deſcription of her by Salluſt, III. 85
SENECA, Latin rhetorician. II. 218. and poet, III. 2
*Senſes*: for what uſe the ſenſes are given us, III. 318
SERVIUS *(Maurus Honoratus)* philologer, II. 190
*Shaft* of a column, term of architecture, I. 120
*Shews*. Immenſe ſums expended in the celebration of them by the antients, I. 276
*Ship*, galley, veſſel. Ship-building of the antients, II. 121. ſhip of enormous magnitude built by Ptolomy Philopator, 125
SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, biſhop of Clermont, Latin poet, III. 27
*Sieges*. method of forming ſieges by the antients, II. 41. Siege of Jeruſalem, 115
SILANION, famous ſtatuary, I. 180
*Silence*. Severe noviciate of ſilence impoſed by Pythagoras upon his ſcholars, III. 279
SILIUS ITALICUS, Latin poet, III. 8
SIMONIDES, Greek poet, II. 296
*Sling*, inſtrument of war uſed by the antients, I. 341
*Society*. Juſtice and faith to engagements, public and private, the foundations of it, III. 345
SOCRATES, applies at firſt to ſculpture, I. 162. he induſtriouſly applies himſelf to diſcredit the ſophiſts in the opinion of the Athenian youth, II. 267, *&c.*

SOLINUS *(Caius Julius)* philologer, I. 187
SOPHISTS. Definition of the ſophiſts, II. 257. extraordinary honours paid them by all Greece, 261. they do not ſupport their reputation long, 265. what finally diſcredits them, 268
SOPHOCLES, tragic poet, II. 290
SOSTRATUS, architect, builds the tower of Pharos, I. 135. deceit which he uſes for engroſſing the whole honour of that work to himſelf, *ibid.*
*Soul.* Its nature, III. 396. its immortality, 400
*Soldier.* Levy of ſoldiers, I. 305. their pay, 328. with what burden they marched, 353. employment and exereiſes of the ſoldiers in their camp, 370
*Speech:* one of the greateſt advantages of human nature, II. 142
SPEUSIPPUS, philoſopher, Plato's nephew, III. 238. particular circumſtance of his life, *ibid.* his intimacy with Dion, 239. he ſucceeds his uncle in the ſchool afrer his death, *ibid.*
*Sphere:* invention of it, III. 455
*Stagira,* city of Macedonia, Ariſtotle's country, deſtroyed by Philip, and rebuilt by Alexander, III. 256
STASICRATES, propoſes to Alexander to cut mount Athos into the form of a man, I. 134. See DINOCRATES.
*Statics:* definition of that ſcience, III. 452
STATIUS, Latin poet, III. 10
STESICHORUS, Greek poet, II. 294
STOBÆUS *(Johannes)* philologer, II. 190
*Stoics. (Sect of)* III. 264. uſual deſect in their writings, 267. opinion of the Stoics concerning the ſupreme good, 331. their ſyſtem concerning the formation of the world, 387
STRATO, philoſopher, III. 259. his thoughts of the Divinity, 377
SUETONIUS, Latin grammarian and hiſtorian, II. 160. III. 113
SUIDAS, Greek grammarian, II. 159
SULPITIA, Roman lady, placed in the number of the Latin poets, III. 17
SULPITIUS, Latin orator, III. 145
*Sun,* III. 486
*Superiors.* They ought to be aſſured that they are deſigned for their inferiors, and not their inferiors for them, III. 343
*Swords,* offenſive and defenſive arms of the antients, I. 339
*Symphonies,* in muſic: the ſeveral kinds of them, I. 258
SYNESIUS, biſhop of Ptolemais, ranked amongſt the Greek poets, II. 288
SYRUS, *(P.)* Latin poet, II. 330
*Syſtems* of the world, III. 403

T.

TACITUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 104. his works, 105. character of his ſtyle, 109
*Taſte* of deſign, term of painting, I. 188
*Teleſcope,* glaſs for ſeeing remote objects: invention of it, III. 407
*Temples,* famous ones of Greece, I. 137
TERENCE, Latin poet, abridgement of his life, II. 315. character of his works, 318. Moliere and Terence compared, 360
TERPANDER, poet and muſician, I. 248. II. 283
THALES of Miletus, philoſopher, founder of the Ionic ſect. III. 218. his travels, *ibid.* his great progreſs in the ſciences cauſes him to be placed in the number of ſeven ſages, 219. diſcovery of Thales in aſtronomy, 220. his death, 221. his thoughts concerning the Divinity, 374

THALES, Lyric poet and philoſopher, II. 294. III. 218
THAMYRIS, famous muſician, who was given up to the revenge of the muſes, I. 247
THARGELIA, of Miletus, courtezan, placed in the number of the ſophiſts, II. 259
*Theft*, with what ſeverity it was forbidden to the Roman ſoldiers, I. 371
THEMISON, famous phyſician of antiquity, III. 419
THEMISTUS, famous ſophiſt, I. 271
THEODORUS, philoſopher of the Cyrenaic ſect, III. 231. impious doctrine that he taught, 232, 373
THEODORUS, Athenian, father of Iſocrates, III. 128
*Theology*, of the antients, III. 380
THEON, of Smyrna, famous for his treatiſes upon arithmetic and algebra, III. 448
THEOPHRASTUS, philoſopher, Ariſtotle's ſucceſſor, III. 257. his diſpute with an old woman at Athens in buying ſomething of her, 258. wherein he made true happineſs conſiſt, *ibid.* what he thought of the nature of the Divinity, 377. his death, 258
THERAMENES, famous rhetorician, III. 128
THESPIS, Greek poet, conſidered as the inventor of tragedy, II. 289
THESSALUS, phyſician, one of the ſons of Hippocrates, III. 418
THUCYDIDES, Greek hiſtorian, his birth, II. 33. his taſte for polite learning, 31, 32. he undertakes the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, 34. he is commanded to go to the aid of Amphipolis, *ibid.* the Athenians make it a crime in him to have ſuffered that city to be taken, and baniſh him, 34. after twenty years baniſhment he returns to Athens, 35. he works upon his hiſtory, *ibid.* his death, *ibid.* Thucydides and Herodotus compared, 36
*Thule*, (iſle of) where there is little or no night, III. 471
TIBULLUS, Latin poet, II. 356
TIMANTHES, famous painter of antiquity, I. 210. his painting of the ſacrifice of Iphigenia, *ibid.* painting by which he carried the prize againſt Zeuxis and Parrhaſius, 205, 206
TIMOCHARIS, aſtronomer of antiquity, III. 461
TIMOTHEUS, famous ſculptor of antiquity, I. 178
TIMOTHEUS, poet and muſician, I. 250, his alteration of the Cithara, 251
TISIAS, Greek rhetorician and ſophiſt, II. 263
TITUS LIVY, Latin hiſtorian, III. 86. character of his works, 89
*Tomos*, city of Europe, upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea; place to which Ovid was baniſhed, II. 353
TORRICELLI, mathematician, III. 408
*Tortoiſe*, machine of war uſed by the antients, II. 46
*Towers moveable*, uſed by the antients in Sieges, II. 80
TOURNEFORT, famous botaniſt, III. 432
*Tragedy*. Poets that diſtinguiſhed themſelves in tragedy, II. 289
TRAJAN. Decree of that emperor in reſpect to pleaders, III. 162. his anſwer to a letter of Pliny's concerning the Chriſtians, 175. Trajan's panegyric by Pliny the Younger, &c. 197. Trajan's column, I. 117
TREBONIAN, famous civilian, III. 359
*Triumph*. Deſcription of a Roman triumph, II. 33
TROGUS POMPEIUS, Latin hiſtorian, III. 114
*Trophies*, erected by the antients after a victory, II. 33

*True*, in painting, wherein it conſiſts, I. 193
TURENNE (Marſhal) his equity and piety, III. 71
*Tuſcan*, order of architecture, I. 117
TYCHO BRAHE, famous modern aſtronomer, III. 464
TYRANNION, Greek grammarian, II. 153. his care in collect-books, 154. Cicero's eſteem for him, *ibid.*
TYRANNION, Greek grammarian, diſciple of the former, II. 156
TYRTÆUS, Greek poet, II. 283. character of his poetry, *ibid.*
TZETZES, Greek grammarian, II. 159

V. U.

VARRO, *(M. Terentius)* philologer, II. 169
VESAL, Flemiſh phyſician, is the firſt that ſet anatomy in a clear light, III. 436
VESPUTIUS, *(Americus)* continues the Diſcoveries of Columbus, and give his name to the new world, III. 480
VIRGIL, Latin poet: his birth, II. 332. his works, 333. he introduces Horace to Mæcenas, 343. his death, 337. Quintilian's diſtinction between Virgil and Homer, 282
VIRGINIUS RUFUS, Pliny the Younger's guardian, III. 160
*Virtue*. Fine maxims of virtue, III. 347
VITRUVIUS, architect, I. 112
ULPIAN, civilian, III. 357
*Voyages*, of Peru, and into the North, undertaken by order of Lewis XV. III. 481

W.

*WAR*. Undertaking and declaration of war by the antients, I. 290. Preparations of war, 319
*Water Colours*: how uſed in painting, I. 198
*Wicked Man*. Contraſt between a wicked man in the moſt ſplendid condition, and a good man under the greateſt misfortunes, III. 349
*Will*. Cuſtom of the Roman ſoldiers to make their wills before a battle, II. 18
*World*. Formation of the world. III. 387. ſyſtem of the Stoics and Epicureans concerning the formation of the world, *ibid, &c.* Plato's fine thought upon the ſame ſubject, 394. diſcovery of the new world, 480
*Writing*. Its utility, II. 145

X.

XENOCRATES, philoſopher, III. 239. his character, 240. his diſintereſtedneſs, 241. his poverty, 242. his thoughts concerning the nature of the divinity, 377. his death, 244
XENOPHANES, philoſopher, his thoughts concerning the nature of the divinity, III. 376
XIPHILINUS, patriarch of Conſtantinople, epitomizer of Dion Caſſius, III. 77
XENOPHON, hiſtorian and philoſopher, III. 43, 44. his birth, *ibid.* he retires to Corinth, 226. he dies there, *ibid.* works of Xenophon, 44. character of his ſtyle, *ibid.*

Z.

ZENO, philoſopher, founder of the Stoic ſect, III. 264. his opinions concerning logic, 313. his theology, 377. his death, 265
ZENODOTUS, of Epheſus, Greek grammarian, II. 150
ZEUXIS, famous painter of antiquity, I. 203
ZOZIMUS, Greek hiſtorian, III. 79

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